University of Alberta

Attitudes towards same-sex marriage: A relationship between gender stereotype internalization and heterosexism

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Sociology

Edmonton, Alberta
Fall 2007

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Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-33130-9
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-33130-9

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examined the relationship between gender stereotype internalization and heterosexism in regards to Albertans' attitudes towards same-sex marriage. It was proposed that individuals with higher degree of gender stereotype internalization are more likely to have negative attitudes towards same-sex marriage. Additionally, such internalization of gender stereotypes was proposed to mediate the relationship between demographic characteristics such as age and education level, and attitudes towards same-sex marriage.

The results showed that the effects of several demographic variables (e.g. sex, age, education level) on attitudes towards same-sex marriage had diminished after controlling for gender stereotype internalization; however, the effects of demographic variables remained significant. Therefore, gender stereotype internalization partially mediated relationships between sex, age, education level and attitudes towards same-sex marriage.

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INTRODUCTION

The Civil Marriage Act which allows same-sex couples to be legally married in Canada passed the Senate and became the law on July 20th, 2005 (Hurley, 2005, http://www.parl.gc.ca /information/library/PRBpubs/prb0413-e.htm). This occurred a little over two years after Michael Stark and Michael Lesner became the first gay couple in Canada to receive a marriage license (Wilkinson, 2004, p. 10), and was largely enabled by the decades-long efforts of lesbian and gay civil rights activists (Lahey & Alderson, 2004, p. 23; Smith, 1999, p. 47) who saw access to marriage as fundamental human rights (Smith, 1999, p. 47; Warner, 2002, p. 69).

However, not everyone embraced this revised definition of marriage with open arms. The period immediately prior to and following the legalization of same-sex marriage was marked by intense public debates on the topic. The most vocal opposition seemed to have come from religious communities (Lahey & Alderson, 2004. p. 20) and support was based on the principles of human rights (e.g. Edmonton Journal, 2005, p. A19). Several nation-wide opinion polls conducted by market research companies (e.g. NFO CF Group, 2003) have also shown that certain groups, namely older, male, rural, and less educated tend to oppose same-sex marriage. Taken together, the public discussions and the results of opinion polls give us a rough sketch of the opponents of same-sex marriage; they are religious-conservative, rural, elderly, male individuals without post-secondary education. At the same time, such a descriptive picture lacks the ability to explain deeper, underlying reasons for individuals to oppose same-sex marriage. Same-sex marriage in Canada is a new institution, and there is virtually no

academic analysis on this topic to date[1]. Moreover, there are no studies published anywhere[2] that explore specifically the underlying reasons for individuals to either support or oppose same-sex marriage. However, existing literature shows a relationship between gender stereotypes[3] and attitudes towards homosexual individuals. These studies confirm that individuals who accept gender-role stereotypes tend to have negative attitudes towards homosexual individuals (e.g. Black, Ole and Moore, 1998). While attitudes towards homosexual individuals in general cannot be equated with attitudes towards the issue of same-sex marriage, it seems reasonable to assume that there must be certain similarity between the two.

Therefore, based on the results of Canada-wide public opinion polls, and research that shows a relationship between the internalization of gender stereotypes and negative attitudes homosexual individuals, the aims of this thesis are: 1) To address the gap in the literature on the topic of same-sex marriage in general and attempt to show that internalization of gender stereotypes is the underlying reason why individuals oppose same-sex marriage; 2) To show that this underlying cause mediates the relationship between demographic characteristics such as age and education level and attitudes towards same-sex marriage. In other words, the effect of demographic characteristics on the attitudes towards same-sex marriage is indirect rather than direct.

This thesis is structured first to address the historical background leading up to legalization of same-sex marriage in Canada followed by summaries of popular stances on same-sex marriage. While this information does not provide direct insights into the

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[1] June 2005
[2] Again, June 2005
[3] Gender stereotypes are certain characteristics that are thought to be naturally feminine or masculine (Ashmore, Del Boca, & Wohlers, 1986, p. 70). More explanation and detailed analysis to follow.

link between gender stereotype and negative attitudes towards same-sex marriage, such details help to show a connection between this study and the social, cultural environment in which it was conducted. Such connection is helpful for a first study in its field by providing a short introduction to the topic.

Again, same-sex marriage in general and the underlying reasons for opposing it in particular is a very under-studied topic. The results of this present study should be a welcome addition to this underdeveloped area of inquiry. Moreover, this analysis should provide a foundation for future studies in this field to assist in monitoring changes in people's attitudes towards same-sex marriage over time.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

(a). The Early Homosexual Rights Movement

(i). The Birth of Homosexuality and the Early Civil Rights Movement in Germany

The origin of the modern homosexual rights movement can be traced back to late nineteenth century Germany (Lauritsen & Thorstad, 1995, pp. 3-4; Ridinger, 1996, p. 1-3). The term homosexual was coined by Hungarian-German writer, journalist, and translator Karoly Maria Kertbeny in 1868 (Ridinger, 1996, p. 1). Almost three decades later, in 1897, the very first homosexual rights organization, called the Scientific Humanitarian Committee, was formed in Germany (Lauritsen & Thorstad, 1995, p. 8; Ridinger, 1996, p. 4). The committee's mandate included abolishing the antigay paragraph of the German Penal code that was from the late 1860s (Kertbeny, 1869/1997; Lauritsen & Thorstad, 1995, pp. 3; Ridinger, 1996, p. 1). The committee's founder Magnus Hirschfeld also established the Institute for Sexual Science in 1919 which offered many public education programs on sexuality as well as the world's first marital counseling clinic. This clinic thrived until its demise under the extreme homophobic Nazi regime (Lauritsen & Thorstad, 1995, pp. 8, 28; Ridinger, 1996, pp.4,5).

(ii). Homophile Movement in North America

The earliest gay civil rights organization established in North America, the Society for Human Rights (Jagose, 1996, p. 24), was founded by Henry Gerber. As a WWI soldier, he spent three years in Germany and was exposed to the idea of improving the social condition of homosexuals (Ridinger, 1996, pp. 15-16). The early gay civil rights movement was called the homophile movement (Jagose, 1996, p. 22). Although

the Society for Human Rights, which was established in 1924, lasted less than one year (Ridinger, 1996, p. 16), the organization provided a template for later homophile organizations such as the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis (Jagose, 1996, p. 24).

The Mattachine Society, founded in 1950, formed committees such as the Citizens Committee to Outlaw Entrapment to stop persecution of gays (Blasius & Phelan, 1997, p. 283). The Daughters of Bilitis, established in 1955 as the first lesbian organization in the United States, originally started as a small social and discussion group and shared similar goals with the Mattachine Society, aiming for the integration and adjustment of lesbian individuals (Blasius & Phelan, 1997, pp. 283, 327). While they did not become mass movements like the succesor gay liberation movement and lesbian feminism, these homophile organizations, nevertheless, set up educational programmes and worked towards political reform designed to increase tolerance of homosexuality (Jagose, 1996, p. 22).

(b). Lesbian and Gay Liberation Movement

Though it was an important development in the history of homosexual civil rights, the homophile movement in North America never became a mass movement (Ridinger, 1996, p.22). This is partly due to the fact that the goal of homophile activists was to increase tolerance of homosexuality and decriminalize it without questioning the root of homosexual oppression (Jagose, 1996, p. 22). Such assimilationist tactics of homophile organizations became increasing unpopular during the late 1960s (Jagose, 1996, p.30). Then on June 27, 1969, an event that changed the face of homosexual rights movement

forever took place in New York: A routine police raid of a gay and drag bar turned into a weekend of riot where, for the first time, the patrons of the bar fought back (Jagose, 1996, p. 30; Warner, 2002, p.62). This incident, known as the Stonewall Riots, is generally seen as the origin of the gay liberation movements away from assimilationist politics (Jagose, 1996, p. 30; Ridinger, 1996, p. 63).

Lesbian and gay liberationists[4], unlike homophile activists whose goal was to assimilate homosexuals into the mainstream society, challenged what society considered norm. Liberationists generally agreed on the oppressive nature of capitalism and its connection to racism, imperialism and repressive sexuality (Blasius & Phelan, 1997, p. 377). The liberationists also believed that the normalization of so-called traditional gender roles stabilized heterosexual privilege, so they promoted the coming-out narrative as a means to disturb fixed notions of femininity and masculinity and to undermine existing structures of power and privilege (Blasius & Phelan, 1997, p. 377; Jagose, 1996, pp. 38, 39). This tactic not only benefited lesbians and gays but others, namely women, who were oppressed by the same normative sex and gender roles (Jagose, 1996, p. 41).

The first ever liberationist organization was the Gay Liberation Front of New York, formed soon after the Stonewall Riots (Blasius & Phelan, 1997, p. 377; Warner, 2002, p.62). The birth of such an organization in many ways was a reflection of the social environment in the United States, namely the Black civil rights movement and the anti-Vietnam war activism (Ridinger, 1996, p. 64; Smith, 1999, p. 5), and the counter-culture movement seems to have had a much larger influence on the development of lesbian and gay movement than any homophile organization. The name liberation front

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[4] Following Warner (2002), the term lesbians and gay liberationists rather than gay liberationists will be used throughout this thesis: Gay liberation may have existed for the first few years of the movement; however, lesbians soon became an important part of the movement (p. 4).

comes from the National Liberation Front, the Vietcong group in Vietnam engaged in the war against the U.S (Ridinger, 1996, p. 64; Warner, 2002, p. 62). Moreover, most of the individuals who became involved with the gay liberation movement had no previous association with homophile organizations, and many were even unaware of the existence of homophile organizations (Ridinger, 1996, p. 64). In any event, the conditions for launching a mass lesbian and gay movement were clearly met. From New York, the lesbian and gay liberation movement rapidly spread to other cities in the U.S., then to Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom, and other western European countries (Blasius & Phelan, 1997, p. 377; Warner, 2002, p. 63).

The Canadian homosexual civil rights movement closely followed the development in the United States, but there was a time-lag. The first gay community organization in Canada, the Association for Social Knowledge (ASK), was formed in Vancouver in April 1964 and modeled itself on the Mattachine Society in San Francisco (Warner, 2002, p. 59). Homophile organizations were still being formed in Canada as late as 1974 (Warner, 2002, pp. 59-60). At the same time, lesbian and gay liberation organizations with much more radical politics than those of homophile groups were being established in Toronto, Ottawa, Vancouver, Montreal and other cities (Smith, 1999, p. 43). These liberationist groups had many of the characteristics typically ascribed to the new social movements, including relatively loose forms of organization, a high level of internal democracy, and a lack of organizational bureaucracy. Their aim of fighting all forms of oppression such as sexism and racism as necessary steps in gaining liberation for lesbians and gays was highly idealistic and hard to translate into action (Smith, 1999,

p. 43; Warner, 2002, pp. 66-68). Consequently, many of these liberation groups were short-lived; they typically lasted less than two years (Warner, 2002, p. 66-68).

Following the demise of early liberation groups, the focus of lesbian and gay movements shifted from social transformation, e.g. the elimination of heterosexism, patriarchy, and sex and gender roles, to advocacy for legislated civil rights (Smith, 1999, p. 43; Warner, 2002, p. 68). The first public protest demanding equality for lesbian and gay citizens took place on Parliament Hill on August 1971 (Smith, 1999, p. 3) At that time, there was no prohibition on sexual orientation discrimination anywhere in the country, making it impossible to press complaints through human rights commissions (Smith, 1999, p. 42). Newly established equality-seeking organizations contended that a legislative change was the most effective tactic for uniting lesbian and gay individuals (Warner, 2002, p. 69).

(c). Path to Same-sex Marriage

(i). The Rights Way to Liberation

Equality seeking strategies, including litigation, were undertaken during the seventies, despite the fact that the chances of success were dismal and the financial resources were limited (Smith, 1999, p. 42). Liberation groups of this period sought to establish lesbians and gays as a minority group, increasing their visibility in the wider society, and secure formal equality via legislative changes to human rights codes (Smith, 1999, pp. 47-48). At the same time, the liberation activists did not see winning equal rights as the end in itself, but rather as the means to achieve a social transformation in which one's sexual preference or gender was no longer a master status (Altman, as cited

in Smith, 1999, p. 44; Warner, 2000, p. 70). Thus, there was an inherent paradox built within the liberation movement. The liberationists needed to construct and assert lesbian and gay identity to build an institutional and organizational base to gain equal status, but they did so in order to deconstruct and liberate sexuality that was dichotomized as homosexuality and heterosexuality (Smith, 1999, p. 45). In a way, lesbian and gay liberation of the seventies was a political movement whose aim was its own demise—gay liberation would have achieved its full potential when it was no longer needed (Weeks, as cited in Smith, 1999, p. 9).

The focus on equality was mostly in the areas of employment and housing. However, the full implications of equality, including relationship recognition, were demanded from the beginning (Smith, 1999, p. 47). For example, the first of the lesbian and gay civil rights groups in Canada, Gay Alliance Toward Equality of Vancouver (GATE), established in 1971 (Warner, 2002, p. 69), included in its list of goals "the right to homosexual marriage and divorce, recognized by law as the union of two equal" (Smith, 1999, p. 47). As early as 1974, efforts were made to have recognition of same-sex relationships. For example, Richard North and Chris Vogel tried to obtain a marriage license, but the Manitoba court ruled against them, citing the biblical definition of marriage that excludes anything but the union of one man and one woman (Lahey & Alderson, 2004, p. 23).

(ii). Birth of EGALE

By the eighties the focus of lesbian and gay organizations had completely shifted from social transformation (elimination of heterosexism) to equality-seeking (Smith,

1999, p. 73). The single most important cause of this shift was the entrenchment of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 (Smith, 1999, p. 73) which influenced the establishment of federal Level equality-seeking groups such as Equality for Gays and Lesbians Everywhere (EGALE) (Smith, 1999, p. 77). Three years later section 15 of the Charter, known as the equality clause, came into effect. Though it did not specifically name sexual orientation as a ground of discrimination, its open-ended language made such interpretation by the courts possible. (Lahey & Alderson, 2004, pp. 72-73; Mazur, 2002, pp. 48, 53; Smith, 1999, pp. 79, 83). The Canadian Charter regulates the relationship between citizens and government. Relationships between individuals are covered under the Canadian Human Rights Act; thus, in order to seek complete protection, amendment of the Act was necessarily (Smith, 1999, p. 79).

EGALE was established in May 1986 to address this lack of protection under the Canadian Human Rights Act (Smith, 1999, p. 83). The organization started as a committee that conducted a letter-writing campaign to lobby MPs and the Mulroney government to include sexual orientation as a prohibited ground of discrimination under the Act (Smith, 1999, p. 83). The inclusion of sexual orientation would result in a ban on employment discrimination among other issues (Smith, 1999, p. 79).

Unlike the liberationists of the seventies who strived for social transformation, EGALE sought equality rights as ends in themselves. Unlike many of the early lesbian and gay groups, EGALE was mostly made of the middle-class, professional and "out" lesbians and gays who potentially stood to benefit economically from the recognition of same-sex relationships in law (Smith, 1999, pp. 78, 85). While it was a relatively small group, EGALE was the only lesbian and gay rights group that focused exclusively on

rights issues in federal jurisdiction (Smith, 1999, p. 78). Because of this and because of their location in Ottawa, EGALE's leaders were often called upon by government and other groups to represent lesbian and gay points of view (Smith, 1999, p. 78). Activists outside central Canada were not happy about this, and, consequently, they attacked EGALE for pretending to speak on behalf of lesbians and gays across Canada (Smith, 1999, p. 94). Some lesbians also had become vocal critics of EGALE because its membership was predominantly male. Since only a small number of lesbians were involved in the organization, it failed to address unique issues faced by them (Smith, 1999, p. 96).

In response to these criticisms, EGALE was reorganized in the early nineties to increase its membership across Canada (Smith, 1999, p. 94) and to adopting a mission statement that identified a goal 'equality and justice at the federal level for lesbians, gays and bisexuals' (EGALE, as cited in Smith, 1999, p. 97). In the wake of the reorganization, EGALE emerged as a more credible lobby at the federal level, and it played a key role in several debates on lesbian and gay rights in federal jurisdiction, including the amendment of the Canadian Human Rights Act to include sexual orientation as a prohibited ground of discrimination in 1996 (Smith, 1999, p. 99)

iii). The *M v. H* Case

A significant step towards legislative changes permitting same-sex marriage occurred in late nineties. One of the two Toronto women who had lived together for more than a decade sued the other for spousal support when the relationship broke up (Wilkinson, 2004, p. 9). The Ontario Court ruled that the "opposite sex"

definition of "spouse" in Family Law Act violated Section 15 of the Charter and could not be saved under Section 1[5] (EGALE, 1999, http://www.egale.ca/index.asp?lang =E&menu=63&item=294). This decision was upheld by the Ontario Court of Appeal (EGALE, 1999). On March 18, 1998, the Supreme Court of Canada heard the Ontario Government's appeal in this case. It ruled on May 1999 that restricting the legal definition of 'spouse' to opposite-sex partnership violated the Charter, ordering that the words 'a man and woman' should be replaced with 'two persons' (EGALE, 1999; Wilkinson, 2004, p. 9). The parties M and H settled their differences between themselves, and the case continued on the policy issue only. The appeal to the Supreme Court was narrowed to the constitutional question of whether same-sex couples had a legal right to spousal support (EGALE, 1999). EGALE and other organizations intervened in support of M's position (EGALE, 1999). The BILL C-23, the Modernization of Benefits and Obligations Act, was passed the following year, giving same-sex couples the same benefits and obligations as common-law heterosexual couples (Wilkinson, 2004, p. 10).

The next big step forward in the journey towards legalized same-sex marriage came on June 10, 2003 when the Ontario Court of Appeal upheld a lower court ruling, opening the way to same-sex marriage within the province. Within hours, Michael Leshner and Michael Stark were issued a marriage license in Toronto and became the first gay couple legally to be married in Canada (Wilkinson, 2004, p. 10). In less than

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[5] *Guarantee of Rights and Freedoms:* The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees the rights and freedoms set out in it, subject only to such reasonable limits prescribed by law as can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society (Constitution Act, 1982).

two years, same-sex marriage had become legal in seven provinces and one territory (Hurley, 2005, http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/library /PRBpubs/prb0413-e.htm).

(iv). Bill C-38 to Royal Assent

On February 1, 2005, Bill C-38 (the Civil Marriage Act), proposing legalization of same-sex marriage nation-wide, was introduced in the House of Commons by the Liberal government (Department of Justice Canada, 2005, http://canada.justice. gc.ca/en/news/nr/2005/doc_31374.html). The bill included amendments to eight federal laws to ensure the equal treatment of opposite-sex and same-sex married couples (Department of Justice Canada, 2005, http://canada.justice. gc.ca/en/news/nr/2005/doc_31374.html). The bill was adopted by the House of Commons on June 28, 2005, passed the Senate on July 19, 2005, and received Royal Assent on July 20, 2005 (Hurley, 2005, http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/library /prbpubs/prb0413-e.htm#g2005txt). This much anticipated outcome was largely seen as a victory by lesbian and gay equality rights advocates such as EGALE (2005, http://www.egale .ca/index.asp?lang=E&menu=21&item=1164), but not everyone shared such sentiments. The issue of same-sex marriage created a wide debate between the supporters and the opponents. In the next section, some of the most popular stances will be reviewed.

POLITICS OF FAMILY AND MARRIAGE: THE SAME-SEX MARRIAGE DEBATE

The topic of same-sex marriage has created debate between its supporters and opponents as well as within the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, and queer (LGBTQ) communities. The first, and perhaps the most popular, opposition to same-sex marriage came from religious groups (Lahey & Alderson, 2004, p. 20); and not all LGBTQ individuals, especially those active during the gay liberation era, embraced the legalization of same-sex marriage. In the following section, some of the more popular positions held by both the opponents and the supporters of legalized same-sex marriage will be summarized.

(a). Opposition

(i). Religious Opposition

This position is perhaps the most popular and the strongest opposition to same-sex marriage (Lahey & Alderson, 2004, p. 20). Supporters of this position are against same-sex marriage because their religious teachings condemn homosexuality. At the same time, many of these supporters also believe that marriage is a religious domain as well as a legal one. The basic assumption is that same-sex marriage should not be allowed because churches should have as much authority as the legal system in matters of marriage:

> Marriage in this country stems from Christian ideals contained in the Bible, which Christians believe to be the word of God. The Bible condemns the homosexual

> lifestyle. So, as I take a step back, I see gay couples fighting to be a part of a tradition, and a belief that does not approve of their relationship. So why bother? Why do they want to take part in a tradition of a religion that they rebel against? (Teeuwsen, 2005, p. A19)

Another often cited argument against same-sex marriage by religious population is that the purpose of marriage is to create an optimal environment for child rearing. Rev. David Henry, a former host of Christian broadcast, stated that same-sex legislation will transform an institution of marriage that is meant for procreation and nurturing of children into the egal protection of the needs and the desires of adult relationships (White, 2005, p. A6). This sentiment is echoed by a Catholic priest Fr. Raymond J. De Souza who blamed Pierre Trudeau's 1967 Omnibus Bill making divorce easier, as the first step towards to the degradation of marriage. Marriage, which at its core was about regulating unruly passions for the purposes of social stability and the upbringing of children, was reduced to a mere sexual relationship; the same-sex marriage legislation is only the latest in this downward development (De Souza, 2005, p. A1).

This type of antipathy towards same-sex marriage is not strictly based on religious convictions. It is based on the notion of sanctity of marriage, and same-sex marriage is seen to lessen the value of marriage.

(ii). Civil Union Only

This position extends of all or most legal rights that come with marriage to same-sex couples, as long as the same-sex union is called something other than marriage.

While upholding the traditional definition of marriage, e.g. marriage as a union of one man and one woman, Rona Ambrose, the current Minister of Environment, expressed her support of this position in an interview for Edmonton Journal:

> My beliefs is that (gays and lesbians) are fully entitled to spousal benefits. There is no way that will be denied. (Ambrose, as cited in Kellogg, 2005, p. A5)

Others have tried to come up with a term that may be used in place for marriage for same-sex relationships:

> I propose simply giving these gays and lesbian relationships another term, namely pair-age. All would know that pair-age is a loving commitment between a homosexual couple, and everyone who is heterosexual would continue to have their word marriage. If our politicians would put this common-sense suggestion forward, fewer people would be so very irate and upset. (Davies, 2005, p. A19)

Opposition to same-sex marriage from this standpoint is more moderate compared to that of the religious community. The supporters of marriage-like union for same-sex couples appears tolerant of gays and lesbians, and one can even get an impression of acceptance of same-sex relationships. At the same time, there is the desire to differentiate same-sex unions from heterosexual unions even if it is only by name; if same-sex and hetero-sex unions had the same rights and responsibilities, why bother labelling them differently?

(iii). Hostile Opposition

Some opponents are quite open about their dislikes of homosexual individuals let alone the issue of same-sex marriage. These individuals are often perceived as homophobic, and they rarely gather open sympathy or support. A good example of this stance is shown in comments made by Jason Kenney, the current Parliamentary Secretary. During an interview for a Punjabi-language media, Kenney said that it is appropriate to discriminate against lesbians and gays because not everybody has to be treated the same under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Edmonton Journal, February 15, 2005, p. A7). Similar views are echoed in the following quotation:

> No one would worry much about homosexuals today if so many of them had not become so aggressive. They want their aberration projected into education at all levels, celebrated in popular culture, and honored in so-called marriages. (Hart, 2004, p. 116)

Similar opponents in the homophobic camp include those who perceive lesbians and gays as the oppressors:

> What's lost in the rhetoric is the fact that all Canadians already have equal rights relating to marriage. To apply the term to same-sex marriage is a subtle and intentionally misleading misnomer, a tactic we've grown used to seeking from the homosexual lobby. It's not equal rights, but special privileges that are really at stake here, and whenever special privileges are sought by any group under the

> guise of rights, its generally at the expense of someone else, usually the tax payer. (Jensen, 2005, p. A19)

The hostile opponents of same-sex marriage are perhaps the most easily identified opponents of all. One would hope that their visibility does not equate to popularity of their extreme stance.

(iv). Oppositions Within

Not everyone within the diverse lesbian and gay community supports the extension of marriage to same-sex couples. These opponents seem to be wary of their assimilation into mainstream society via state regulated marriage, arguing that the extension of rights to marry can mask the problem underlying the same-sex marriage debate, e.g. the heteronormative nature of society (Lehr, 1999, p. 14; Warner, 1999, p. 88).

Some lesbians and gay individuals are even puzzled over the popularity of same-sex marriage debate. To these individuals, the pursuit of same-sex marriage is frivolous, compared to other more urgent issues:

> No one was more surprised by the rise of the gay marriage issue than many veterans of earlier forms of gay activism. To them, marriage seems both less urgent and less agreed upon than such items as HIV and health care, AIDS prevention, the repeal of sodomy laws, antigay violence, job discrimination,

> immigration, media coverage, military antigay policy, sex inequality and the saturation of everyday life by heterosexual privilege (Warner, 1999, p. 84).

Other opponents within the lesbian and gay community argue that the extension of marriage to same-sex couples would only benefit certain groups, namely professional, white, middle-class, able-bodied lesbians and gays whose families look very much like the traditional heterosexual ideal (Allen, as cited in Owen, 2001, p. 91; Donovan, 2004, p. 25).

The opposition within lesbian and gay community is qualitatively different from other opponents, and thus may pose challenges to the way research is conducted. This point will be addressed later.

(b). Support

(i). Issue of Human Rights

The support for same-sex marriage is as diverse as the reasons offered to oppose it. However, the most cited argument seems to be embedded within the human rights context. Here is a quote that summarizes this popular position:

> It's the Charter, Stupid! (Edmonton Journal, 2005, p. A19)

The Charter of Rights and Freedoms prohibits discrimination based on sexual orientation. Therefore, many supporters feel that extending the right to marry is the only rightful action. The following quote by Kitzinger and Wilkinson (2004) articulates this stance:

> From a human rights perspective, equal access to marriage for all citizens is a straight forward human right—a simple matter of justice…systematic exclusion of any group of people from the institution of marriage has been (and continues to be) a powerful way of oppressing that group in terms both of concrete rights and responsibilities and—more crucially still—in terms of the symbolic message that the group so discriminated against is unworthy of equality and is less than human. (p. 132)

Lesbians and gays supporting this humanist stance are aware of the opposition within their community, and they have taken efforts to convince their peers of the implication of opposing same-sex marriage:

> For any kind of gay and lesbian social movement to make significant gains on our behalf, it must make the removal of all formal inequalities a priority. The exclusion of a portion of the population from a major social institution creates a second-class citizenship for that group. (Bevacqua, 2004, p. 37)

And to the opponents who insist a separate system for same-sex couples, the human rights supporter have this to say:

> Creating a separate system, just for gay people, simply perpetuates the stigma of exclusion that we now face because it would essentially be branding gay people

> and our relationships as unworthy of this civil institution of marriage. (Benoit, as cited in Garrow, 2004, p. 56)

> The creation of civil partnerships addresses the problem of discrimination at the cost of creating an apartheid system of state-recognized relationships: marriage, which is open only to opposite sex couples, and partnership registration, which is open only to same-sex couples. (Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 2004, p. 133)

(ii). Benefits of Marriage

The next position supports same-sex marriage because it benefits couples as well as society as a whole. Proponents of this perspective may or may not support lesbian and gay rights outside of legalized marriage: i.e., individuals can harbour heterosexist attitudes and still support same-sex marriage:

> A solitary individual lives on the frontier of vulnerability. Marriage creates kin, someone whose first job is to look after you. Gay people, like straight people, become ill or exhausted or despairing and need the comfort and support that marriage uniquely provides. Marriage can strengthen and stabilize their relationship and thereby strengthen the communities of which they are a part. (Rauch, 2004, p. 66)

Similar arguments are made by AIDS Service organizations such as HIV Edmonton:

> When there is a lack of self-esteem, loss of family because of sexual orientation, shunning by friends, community and societal condemnation and lack of political will to implement equality legislation, a hopeless and helpless mindset will impose itself on behaviour choices. These choices are often increased substance use, self-medicating and decisions around sexual activity that put the individual at risk of HIV transmission…Marriage is not ideal by any means, but it is the institution that society has held up as a function of stability and societal acceptance. Until the message of equality is heard through rights and acceptance, there will be consequences, either directly or indirectly to the GLBTTQQ [Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, Two-Spirited, Queer or Questioning] community. HIV/AIDS is one of those consequences. (Smith, 2005, p. 3)

And, lastly, on an assumption that marriage automatically leads to fidelity, Brooks (2004) believes the same-sex marriage saves people from committing spiritual suicide i.e. having several sexual partners in a year:

> We should insist on gay marriage. We should regard it as scandalous that two people could claim to love each other and not want to sanctify their love with marriage and fidelity. (p. 87-88)

(iv). Subversion

This position advocates same-sex marriage as a radical way of protesting the hetero-normative system embedded within society. The stance is a direct challenge to the

lesbian and gay opposition that perceives same-sex marriage as acceptance of heterosexual norms.

> We must be aware of the oppressive history that weddings symbolize…But I find it difficult to understand how two lesbians, standing together openly and proudly, can be seen as accepting that institution. What is more antipatriarchal and rejecting of an institution that carries the patriarchal power imbalance into most households than clearly stating that women can commit to one another with no man in sight?…I understand the fears of those who condemn us for our weddings, but I believe they fail to look beyond the symbol and cannot see the radical claim we are making. (Cox, 2004, p. 113)

The legalization of same-sex marriage did not seem to end the debate. Prime Minister Stephen Harper has announced his intention to re-open the debate sometime this fall[6] (Canadians for Equal Marriage, 2006, http://www.equal-marriage.ca/resource.php?id=506). The religious community is not about change its opposition to same-sex marriage anytime soon (e.g. Woodard, 2006, p. B1). These various positions on the issue of same-sex marriage paints a picture of diverse Canadian opinions. However, such a picture does not reveal the beliefs underlying each opinion, e.g. the shared characteristics

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[6] During the 2006 election campaign the Conservative leader Steven Harper announced that he wants to re-open the same-sex marriage issue (Marchildon, 2005). Harper kept his promise by introducing a motion to reopen the same sex debate in December 2006; the motion was defeated by a large margin (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2006, http://www.cbc.ca/canada/nova-scotia/story/2006/12/07/vote-samesex.html).

of opposition aside from their objection to same-sex marriage. In the next section, such underlying beliefs will be investigated.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The lesbian and gay liberation movement did not just liberate gays and lesbians, but it questioned the categorization of gender and sexuality as natural and stable (Jagose, 1996, p. 39). The lesbian and gay liberation movement not only changed the way homosexuals are viewed and treated, but it also shed new light on how fixed notions of femininity and masculinity are maintained in our society. Such awareness gives an insight into why some people are against same-sex marriage. Same-sex marriage confronts supposed normality and stability of gender identity.

In this section, key concepts for the current research as well as results of relevant academic literature and nation-wide opinion polls will be summarized.

(a). Key Concepts

(i). Gender Essentialism

In this section, the concepts that are fundamental to the current study will be defined. These are: gender essentialism, gender stereotypes, and heterosexism. All of these concepts are inter-related.

Essentialism refers to the belief in some innate essence, often biological, that constitutes a human being. Essentialists ignore the role played by history and culture that may shape human characteristics (Haslam, Rothschild, & Ernst, 2002, p. 88). Essentialism can be harmful by presenting social inequality as natural, inevitable and immutable and supporting the status quo (Haslam et al, 2002, p. 88). In the current study, a specific type of essentialism, namely, gender essentialism, will be explored.

Gender essentialism is a belief in the ontological and culture-independent differences based on biological sex (Kimmel, 1993, p. 574). Women and men are fundamentally different because they belong to different sexes. The notion of gender essentialism supports and legitimizes patriarchy in which the male dominance over females is often explained by reference to biological differences between the sexes (Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner, 2000, p. 258). For example, individuals who have internalised this patriarchal notion may reason that men in general are physically stronger than women (Tuttle, 1986, p. 242), and conclude that male dominance over females is natural.

(ii). Gender Stereotypes

Another concept central to the present research is gender stereotypes. A stereotype is a one-sided, exaggerated, and often prejudicial, but sometimes overly positive, view or concept of a group or class of people (Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner, 2000, p. 346). Gender stereotypes are certain traits and qualities that are presented as naturally masculine or feminine. For example, being aggressive or rational are widely held stereotypes of men; whereas being dependent or emotional are stereotypes attributed to women (Ashmore, Del Boca, & Wohlers, 1986, p. 70). Gender stereotypes usually portray women as the weaker sex dominated by males.

These two concepts, gender essentialism and gender stereotypes are intimately connected, and, in fact, gender stereotypes are based on gender essentialist beliefs. If gender essentialism were a belief in fundamental differences between the sexes based on biology, and gender stereotypes were widely-accepted and often extreme characteristics

of both men and women, then, in a way, gender essentialism is a theory and gender stereotypes are its practical application.

There is some truth to gender stereotypes. It is very hard to deny actual biological differences between males and females. However, gender stereotypes are grossly exaggerated and simplified characteristics that are more fiction than real. Take, for an example, a widely accepted stereotype of men being physically stronger than women. It is probably safe to say that, *on average*, men are physically stronger than women. However, there is a rather wide range of physical strength within a sex so, naturally, some women are stronger than some men. But, stereotypes ignore such individual variations. This particular example of stereotype can result in women being banned from occupations requiring strength, or men being forced to engage in physically strenuous labour even when they would rather do something else. While it is impossible to deny biological differences between men and women, we must understand that it is our society and culture that gives such differences a meaning. Acknowledging differences does not make oneself an essentialist; attaching values to and putting a limitation to one's possibility based on such differences does.

Since gender stereotypes constantly portray women as dependent and submissive while men are viewed as dominant and in control, they serve to maintain hierarchies of privilege and power in our society.

(iii). Heterosexism

Heterosexism[7] refers to prejudice against alternatives to heterosexuality (Tuttle, 1986, p. 292). It mandates an exclusive orientation toward members of the opposite of ones own biological sex (Nagle, 1995, p. 306). Heterosexism and gender stereotypes seem to be closely related. It may be argued that, to properly endorse heterosexism, the distinctions between women and men must be clearly defined; otherwise, it will become very challenging to know exactly who is one's opposite sex. Gender essentialism and gender stereotypes aid heterosexist beliefs by making women and men distinct from each other, as well as by giving examples of, and encouragement to act in accordance with, proper gender roles in a heterosexist society.

If heterosexism is a prejudice against alternatives to heterosexuality, then many opponents of same-sex marriage, an alternative to the traditional heterosexual marriage may be perceived as heterosexist. The rationale for these opponents is exactly that a same-sex union is fundamentally different because it is not a heterosexual union. Their reasons for preferring opposite-sex unions vary from support of religious values (e.g. Teeuwsen, 2005, p. A19) to the welfare of children (Henry, as cited in White, 2005, p. A6) and to general antipathy towards any social minority groups that are vocal (e.g. Jensen, 2005, p. A19). However, all of these positions depend on one fundamental idea

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[7] The term heterosexism is preferred over the term homophobia because the word phobia implies a psychological diagnosis of an internal individual trait, thereby ignoring the systematic and political nature of heterosexism (Herek, Kitzinger & Perkins, as cited in Szymanski, 2004, p. 145). Heterosexism, unlike homophobia, also allows one to analyse its similarities and differences with other social oppressions such as sexism and racism (Zita, as cited in Peel, 2001, p. 544). In other words, the difference between the terms homophobia and heterosexism is a matter of perspective. Using the term homophobia pathologizes individuals while ignoring the culture that encourages individuals to see homosexual people as deviant. Heterosexism, on the other hand, acknowledges that hostility towards homosexuals is a type of oppression just like sexism or racism.

that same-sex relationships are vastly different from opposite-sex unions. And the reason for such difference must depend on gender essentialist beliefs that men and women are different. After all, if men and women were seen as having many similar traits and abilities despite their biological differences, then same-sex union and opposite-sex union should be seen as rather similar since only differences between these unions are whether there are two men, two women, or one man and one woman in a relationship. In this way, it seems that the way heterosexuality is sanctioned is very similar to how male dominance is maintained in the society—both depend on gender essentialist beliefs in order to categorize and classify sexes. Therefore, it seems reasonable to speculate that the internalization of gender stereotypes will be associated with negative attitudes towards queers. In fact, the connection between prejudice against women and prejudice against homosexuals is well recognized (Gannon, as cited in Peel, 2001, p. 541). Several empirical studies that have shown a relationship between these two attitudes will be reviewed in the following section.

(b). Results of empirical studies

The studies summarized in this section looked at relationships between attitudes towards homosexuals and endorsement of gender-role stereotypes. These studies seem to confirm that there is a close relationship between a firm belief in gender stereotypes and heterosexism, evidenced by negative attitudes towards gays and lesbians. For example, Whitley conducted several studies consistently showing significant relationships between endorsement of traditional sex role beliefs and attitudes towards homosexuality. His study conducted in the late eighties showed a moderate relationship between endorsement

of traditional sex role beliefs and negative attitudes towards homosexuals (Whitley, p. 110). Another study conducted with AEgisdottir again showed the relationship between endorsement of gender role beliefs and negative attitudes towards homosexuals (Whitley & AEgisdottir, 2000, p. 962). A further investigation of the similar relationship confirmed earlier results (Whitley, 2001)[8].

Black, Ole and Moore (1998) examined the relationship between social work students' attitudes toward women and homosexuals and found a significant relationship between students' level of homophobia and sexist attitudes. Negative attitudes towards homosexuals in college students were assessed by Kurdek (1988) and Stark (1991)—both studies found a significant relationship between holding traditionally gender-stereotypical beliefs and having negative attitudes towards homosexuals. Harry (1995) looked at the association between support for traditional gender role and attitudes towards lesbians and gays[9], and found the support for traditional gender role was a significant predictor of anti-homosexual attitudes, but for female respondents only[10].

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[8] In a two-parts study conducted, Whitley made a distinction between gender-role beliers and gender-role self-concept. Gender-role beliefs represent peoples ideas of the proper roles for men and women in society and of behavioural norms for men and women whereas gender-role self-concept represents peoples views of themselves in terms of gender-stereotypic personality traits (2001, pp. 692-693). Study 1, a meta-analysis of the results of previous research, found that endorsement of gender-role beliefs were closely linked to negative attitudes towards homosexuality but gender-role self-concept was not (Whitley, 2001, pp701-702). Study 2, conducted to follow up the results of the meta-analysis, showed that traditional sexist beliefs, endorsement of traditional male role norms, and benevolent sexism which was measured by the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI: Glick & FIske, 1996) were the major predictors of negative attitudes towards homosexuality (Whitley, 2001, p. 712).

[9] Harry assessed associations between support for traditional gender role, attitudes towards lesbians and gays, and sports ideology. Sports ideology represents sports as a masculine endeavour, which fosters attitudes that men are superior to women, especially in strength, assertiveness, and compettiveness (1995, para. 1); therefore, sports ideology is built upon existing gender role beliefs.

[10] And sports ideology had an independent link to anti-homosexual beliefs both directly and indirectly through support for traditional gender roles in men only (Harry, 1995, para. 14).

The studies examining the relationship between gender-stereotype endorsement and negative attitudes towards homosexuals have found that men are more likely than women to believe in gender-stereotypes or to have more negative attitudes towards homosexuals. For example, Black, Ole and Moore (1998, para. 31), Kurdek (1988, P. 733), and Stark (1991, p. 645) found that men hold more traditionally gender-stereotypical beliefs than females. Kurdek (1998, p. 733) and Stark (1991, p. 645) also found that men tend to hold more negative attitudes towards homosexuals than did females, but Black, Oles, and Moore (1998, para. 31) did not find men to have more negative attitudes towards homosexuals. Male respondents in Harry's study (1995) were significantly more anti-homosexual than women (para. 11). Massar and Abrams (1999)[11] noted that males consistently having more sexist attitudes than females (p. 509).

Whitley (1987) found that women held less traditional sex role beliefs than did men, which led women to hold less negative attitudes toward male and female homosexuals, but men who held less sex role beliefs held less negative attitudes towards female homosexuals (pp. 107, 110). Additionally, Whitley together with AEgisdottir (2000)[12] found that male respondents showed higher level of traditional gender-role

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[11] Masser and Abrams examined the relationship between different types of subtle or covert sexist attitudes (Hostile and Benevolent sexism – see Glick & Fiske, 1996; and Neosexism – see Tougas, Brown, Beaton & Joy, 1995) and attitudes towards rights of gays and lesbians.

[12] They examined heterosexuals' attitudes towards lesbians and gays using three theoretical perspectives: gender belief system, authoritarianism, and social dominance. Gender belief system is a set of beliefs and opinions about males and females and about the purported qualities of masculinity and femininity (Kite & Whitley, as cited in Whitley & AEgisdottir, 2000, p. 948)—a concept very similar to gender stereotypes. The results showed that the gender-role beliefs were negatively associated with attitudes toward lesbians and gay men (Whitley & AEgisdottir, 2000, p. 962). Male respondents showed higher level of social dominance orientation than females, and high social dominance orientation lead men to hold more gender-role beliefs which, in turn, lead to negative attitudes toward homosexuals, showing the social dominance orientation and gender-role beliefs jointly mediated gender differences in attitudes towards homosexuals (Whitley & AEgisdottir, 2000, pp. 958, 962).

internalization which, in turn, led to negative attitudes towards homosexuals (pp. 958, 962).

Finally, there are few studies that have examined attitudes towards the civil rights of homosexuals and the results were somewhat mixed. For example, Massar and Abrams (1999) found a significant relationship between sexist attitudes and negative attitudes towards homosexual civil rights (p. 514). Kite and Whitley (1996) conducted a meta-analysis of research on sex differences in attitudes towards homosexuality, and found no sex differences in attitudes towards homosexual civil rights (p. 346). Davies (2004)[13] found a moderately significant correlation between negative attitudes towards gay men and being men or having gender stereotypical beliefs. However, no significant relationships between attitudes towards gay male's civil rights and being male or having gender stereotypical beliefs (Davies, 2004, p. 264).

Same-sex marriage can be conceptualized as a civil rights issue. And, since at least one of the studies cited above found no relationships between attitudes towards gays and gender-stereotyped beliefs, it would be interesting to see how the current study will unfold. However, it is reasonable to anticipate a relationship between gender-role beliefs and attitudes towards same-sex marriage based on studies that had shown a relationship between gender-role internalization and attitudes towards homosexuals. After all, the opponents of same-sex marriage and the individuals who have negative attitudes towards homosexuals share a critical trait—heterosexist views i.e. prejudice against alternatives to heterosexuality (Tuttle, 1986, p. 292).

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[13] Davis conducted a study to investigate the sub-components of attitudes towards gay men, attitudes towards gay males, and attitudes towards gay male civil rights following Kite and Whitley's 1996 study (2004, p. 259-260). The study focused exclusively on attitudes towards gay men due to the generally greater negative reactions towards them (Davis, 2004, p. 260).

(c). Results of Opinion Polls

Support for same-sex marriage is stronger among women (EKOS Research Associates, 2002[14]; Environics Research Group, 2001[15]; Focus on the Family Canada, 2002[16]; NFO CF Group, 2003[17]), younger populations, (Environics Research Group, 2001; Focus on the Family Canada, 2002; NFO CF Group, 2003), those with higher income (Environics Research Group, 2001; NFO CF Group, 2003), and people with higher levels of education (EKOS Research Associates, 2002; Environics Research Group, 2001; NFO CF Group, 2003).

The NFO CF Group poll (2003) measured attitudes towards same-sex marriage across Canada as well as attitudes towards homosexual relationships in general. The poll showed that the roughly half (46%) of Canadians support same-sex marriage while an equal proportion of Canadians oppose it (NFO CF Group, 2003, p. 3). However, when asked to choose between three options for dealing with same-sex couples, more than a third (37%) of Canadians supported the extension of marriage to same-sex couples and an equal proportion supported the civil union status only (NFO CF Group, 2003, p. 1). Roughly 1 in 5 Canadians (19%) opposed awarding any legal status of same-sex couples (NFO CF Group, 2003, p. 1). The Prairie region as a whole, especially Alberta, was least supportive of same-sex marriage (NFO CF Group, 2003, p. 2). The Prairies also had the highest level (29%) of preference for denying legal status ro same-sex relationships (NFO CF Group, 2003, p. 5).

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[14] from http://www.cbc.ca/sunday/polls/nov10.pdf
[15] from http://erg.environics.net/news/default/asp?aID=432
[16] from http://www.fotf.ca
[17] from http://www.nfocfgroup.com/news/03.09.05-samesex.pdf

Differences in attitudes towards same-sex marriage based on respondents' demographic characteristics were also noted. For Canadians under 35 years, 61% supported same-sex marriage. About the same proportion (62%) of those over 35 opposed it (NFO CF Group, 2003, pp. 1-2). Rural residents were also less supportive of same-sex marriage; however, this result was partially age-related, since rural residents were older than urban residents (NFO CF Group, 2003, p. 2). Education was positively associated with support for same-sex marriage, with better-educated respondents being supportive (NFO CF Group, 2003, p. 2). While 53% of women were supportive of same-sex marriage, only 39% of men were (NFO CF Group, 2003, P. 3).

Canadians' general attitudes towards homosexual relationships mirrored their attitudes towards same-sex marriage. When asked whether or not there is something morally wrong with homosexuality, more than half (52%) of Canadians said there is nothing morally wrong with it (NFO CF Group, 2003, p. 1), while a third (33%) said it is morally wrong (p. 3). A larger proportion of people under 25 years (60%) were tolerant of homosexual relationships (NFO CF Group, 2003, p. 2), compared to older Canadians (52%) (P. 4). Education was also associated with higher tolerance of same-sex relationship (NFO CF Group, 2003, p. 2), as well as higher income level (p. 4). Women were more tolerant of homosexual relationships.

HYPOTHESES

The studies that explored the relationship between gender stereotypes and heterosexism showed a positive relationship between the two concepts. Since same-sex marriage, which sanctions sexual orientations other than heterosexuality, is a direct challenge to heterosexism, it is hypothesized that there will be a positive relationship between beliefs in gender stereotypes and negative attitudes towards same-sex marriage.

There are exceptions to this trend. As noted earlier, some lesbians and gays oppose same-sex marriage; however, such opposition is unlikely due to strong beliefs in gender stereotypes. Since it is likely that the numbers of lesbian and gay opponents are relatively small, these respondents will not affect the overall prediction.

Support for same-sex marriage does not necessarily mean the absence of heterosexism even when there is a high correlation between attitudes towards same-sex marriage and general attitudes towards homosexuality. While the NFO CF Group's poll (2003) found an association between attitudes towards homosexuality in general and same-sex marriage, at least one study showed no relationship between gender stereotype internalization and attitudes towards gay male civil rights but a significantly positive relationship between gender stereotype internalization and negative attitudes towards gay males (Davies, 2004, p. 264). Since same-sex marriage maybe regarded as a subcategory of lesbian and gay civil rights issues, it is preferable to differentiate support for same-sex marriage and general attitudes towards same-sex relationships. In an attempt to address this issue, a variable measuring attitudes towards same-sex relationships but not same-sex marriage was created.

The nation-wide opinion poll conducted by the NFO CF Group (2003)

found that certain demographic characteristics were associated with negative attitudes towards same-sex marriage and homosexuality in general. Based on this review, it is hypothesized:

H1: Higher education is positively associated with support for same-sex marriage and tolerance for same-sex relationships.

H2: Urban residents are more likely than rural residents to support same-sex marriage as well as homosexual relationships in general.

H3: Younger persons are more likely than older respondents to support same-sex marriage and show tolerance for same-sex relationships.

H4: Women are more likely than men to support same-sex marriage and show tolerance for same-sex relationships.

H5: Higher income is associated with more positive attitudes towards same-sex relationships and same-sex relationships.

These hypotheses are shown graphically in Figure 1.

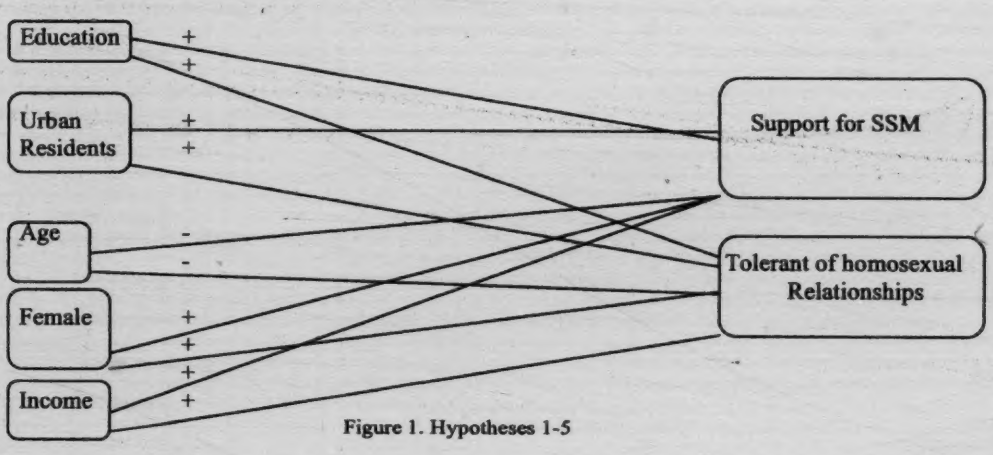

Figure 1. Hypotheses 1-5

Alternatively, it is hypothesized Hypotheses 1-5 are indirect relationships, mediated by beliefs in gender stereotypes. In short, respondents' age, education level, place of residence, sex, and income level will directly affect the level of gender stereotype internalization which, in turn will affect the attitudes towards same-sex marriage (e.g. Whitley & AEgisdottir, 2000). This alternative model is shown in Figure 2

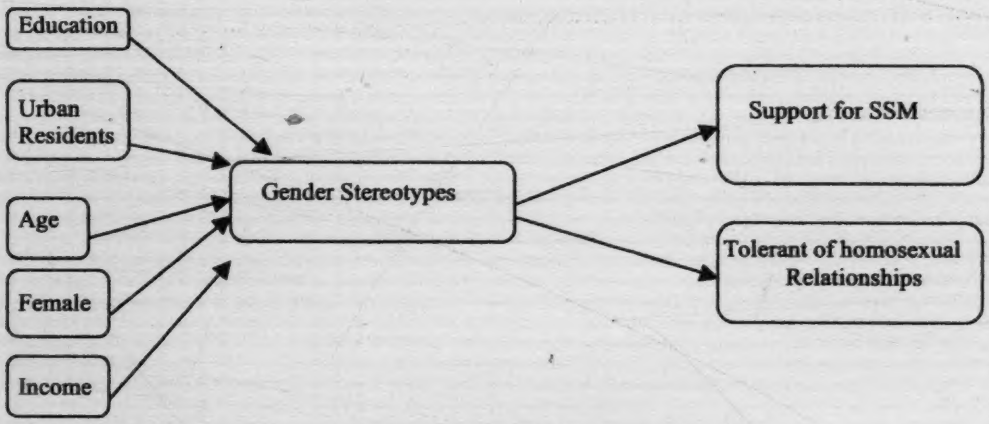

Figure 2. Hypotheses 1-5 with Gender Stereotypes as an Mediator.

Notice that religious oppositions to same-sex marriage was given a considerable amount of coverage in chapter 3, but religious affiliation is not one of the demographic variables to be tested. This is because religion is a vast topic and it most likely requires a study on its own. The main focus of this study is on the relationship between gender stereotypes and attitudes towards same-sex marriage; therefore, a complex variable such as religious affiliation was left out in order to simplify the research model, and to provide a better focus.

METHODS OF ANALYSIS

(a). Participants

To test the hypotheses, a total of twelve questions were constructed and asked as a part of the 2005 All-Alberta Survey. The 2005 All-Alberta survey was conducted by the Population Research Laboratory at the University of Alberta. It is an omnibus survey of households in the Province that allows academic researchers, government departments, and non-profit organizations to explore a wide range of research topics (Population Research Laboratory, 2005, p. 3). For the 2005 survey, 1,208 respondents were sampled from three geographic regions: Edmonton metropolitan (N=404), Calgary metropolitan (N=402), and the rest of the province (N=402) (PRL, 2005, p. 3). Only persons 18 years of age or older who at the time of the survey were living in a dwelling unit that could be reached by direct telephoning were contacted (PRL, 2005, p. 3). To ensure that each eligible respondent had an equal chance to be contacted whether or not his/her household was listed in a telephone directly, a Random Digit Dialling approach (RDD) was used (PRL, 2005, p. 4). The RDD was carried out by drawing the sample randomly from a database of telephone numbers covering all of Alberta, developed by the PRL (PRL, 2005, p. 4). Finally, Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing system (CATI) was used to record data collected during the interviews (PRL, 2005, p. 6).

The mean length of the interview in the 2005 survey was 35.2 minutes (PRL, 2005, p. 4). Within each household a respondent was selected on the basis of sex to ensure an equal selection of male and female, according to the following procedure. If an adult male answered the phone and was willing to be interviewed, he became the respondent. If an adult female answered and there was an adult male present who was

willing to be interviewed, the male was interviewed. Finally, if an adult female answered and there was no adult male present, she became the respondent (PRL, 2005, p. 4). The response rate for the 2005 survey was 26.3%, calculated by the number of people participating in the survey (completed survey) divided by the combined numbers of completed and incomplete interviews, refusals, refusal due to language problems, non-availability (e.g. answering machine), and no contacts (PRL, 2005, p. 7-8). The estimated sampling error for the 2005 survey, at the 95% confidence level, for an area sample of 1,208 households and assumes a 50/50 binomial percentage distribution, is within plus or minus 2.8 percentage points; and for the each sub-sample of 400 (Calgary, Edmonton, and elsewhere), the sampling error is estimated to be within plus or minus 5 percentage points (PRL, 2005, p. 12).

(b). Measurement of Variables

The following twelve questions were asked in the 2005 All-Alberta Survey[18].

Q1. Gays and lesbians should have the right to get married.+

Q2. Marriage should be limited to one man and one woman.-

Q3. Same-sex couples should be granted an alternative arrangement, not marriage.-

Q4. There is nothing wrong about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex.++

Q5. Women are more kind-hearted than men.

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[18] Explanation for the symbols at the end of each question:
+ Support for same-sex marriage
- Opposition to same-sex marriage
++ Tolerance for same-sex relationships

Q6. Women are just as suitable as men for dangerous occupations such as fire-fighting.

Q7. Most women want to be protected by men.

Q8. Men are less likely to let emotions cloud their thinking than women.

Q9. Parents should emphasize appearance more for their daughters than for their sons.

Q10. Boys are naturally more aggressive than girls.

Q11. Boys should be encouraged to be daring more than girls.

Q12. Boys should be encouraged to be sensitive just as much as girls.

For each question, respondents were asked to provide answers on a five-point scale which included the five response categories; strongly disagree, disagree, neutral, agree, and strongly agree. The two other categories included were 'don't know' and 'no response'. Five response categories were chosen since many people have trouble coping with more than five positions on a scale, and they may pick a position that only roughly approximates their attitude (Sheatsley, 1983, p. 209). Additionally, the All-Alberta Survey also asked respondent's age, education, income, sex, and place of residence.

i). Dependent Variables

(Q1) is intended to measure attitudes towards same-sex marriage. This question was written after consulting the General Social Survey (GSS). GSS had included a question in regards to attitudes towards same-sex relationships between 1988 and 1991: "Homosexual couples should have the right to marry one another." (Smith, 1998,

http://webapp.icpsr.umich.edu.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/GSS/). This GSS question was paraphrased, changing the word homosexual to gays and lesbians because some respondents may misconstrue the term homosexual to mean male homosexual only. It is vital for any survey-based research to ask questions that have same meaning to every participant (Fowler, 2002, p. 81).

(Q2) has the same content as (Q1). However, this question was asked from an opponent's perspective, whereas (Q1) was asked from a supporter's perspective. It was intended to check the consistency between (Q1) and (Q2) to see if the data collected were reliable. The wording of questions sometimes produces different responses even when two questions virtually mean the same thing (Dillman, 1978, p. 85). Since participants were told the questions were on the topic of same-sex marriage and gender-roles and not on attitudes towards polygamy, the meaning of the question should have been clear.

(Q3) explored the popularity of a 'civil-union only' stance towards same-sex couples.

(Q4) is a paraphrasing of a GSS question, "And what about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex, is it…" (Smith, 1998). This question measured the correlation between general attitudes towards homosexual relationships and same-sex marriage.

ii). Independent Variables

(Q5) to (Q12) measured a respondent's gender stereotypical attitudes. As explained earlier, gender stereotypes are manifestations of gender essentialist ideas. Gender stereotypes are easier to measure compared to gender essentialist beliefs because

stereotypes give concrete examples. Since there are many gender stereotypes, it was not easy to choose just a few to be included in the survey. In order to include more familiar or widely held stereotypes, so that the meanings of questions were clear to all respondents, several sources were consulted. The Bias in Attitudes Survey (Jean & Reynolds, 1980) includes 35 items that measures an individual's adherence to sex roles. Some recurrent stereotypes appearing among those 35 items were: 1) women as the nurturer, 2) girls being physically weaker than boys, 3) girls being easier to be frightened than boys, 4) men as the breadwinner, 5) women like to be protected by men, and 6) women being more emotional than men (Jean & Reynolds, 1980, pp. 274-275).

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) used in a number of studies (e.g. Masser & Abrams, 1999; Whitley, 2002) included very similar items such as women's moral superiority compared to men and women needing a protection of men (p. 512). Finally, Ashmore, Del Boca, and Wohlers' (1986) table of common gender stereotypes listed seventy-seven characteristics for each sex, echoing the BIAS and ASI scales, e.g. women as affectionate, dependent, emotional, gentle, kind, and men as active, courageous, independent, dominant, mature, rational, and strong (pp. 70-71). These particular scales and inventories were consulted for their simplicity and familiarity.

(Q5) through (Q12) were drafted based on these scales. In addition, in order to avoid acquiescence, a response style in which respondents tend to answer each questions with favourable options such as 'true' or 'agree' (O Neill, 1967, pp.100-101), the manner in which questions were asked was varied. Some questions were phrased in support of a stereotypical view, e.g. (Q8), "Men are less likely to let emotions cloud their thinking than women." Some had an anti-stereotypical point of view, e.g. (Q6), "Women are just

as suitable as men for dangerous occupations such as fire-fighting." Positive stereotypes as well as negative stereotypes were included within the questions. For example, in (Q5), "Women are more kind-hearted than men," is a positive stereotype of women since being kind-hearted is a positive character trait. (Q7), "Most women want to be protected by men," can be seen as a negative stereotype of women since the question states that women are dependent, weak and need protection by men.

(Q5) through (Q8) ask about characteristics of grown men and women whereas Questions 9 through 12 ask about children. This was done to avoid repetitiveness (Sheatsley, 1983, p. 221).

(c). Factor Analysis

Factor analysis is based on the fundamental assumption that some underlying factors, smaller in number than the number of observed variables, are responsible for most of the variance in the original set of variables (Kim & Mueller, 1978, p. 12). Extraction of factors can facilitate interpretation of data (Stevens, 1996, p. 387). The present analysis followed Kaiser who recommends retaining only those factors whose eigenvalues are greater than one (as cited in Stevens 1996, p. 389).

For the current study, two separate factor analyses were performed: (1) An analysis of (Q1) through (Q4), which constitute the dependent variables, and, (2) an analysis of the remaining eight items, (Q5-12), which constitute the independent variables.

The results for the factor analysis are displayed in Tables 1A and 1B. For the four dependent variable items, one factor was extracted with an eigenvalue equal or greater

than one (2.532). This factor accounted for 63.3% of the total item variance. A scale was then created based on the single component extracted. This scale, Heterosexism, is a sum of each original dependent variable (e.g. Q1 to Q4) multiplied by its corresponding factor loading:

Heterosexism = Q1*.941 + Q2*.930 + Q3*.426 + Q4*.775

This new variable was coded so that the higher its value, the greater the negative attitudes towards same-sex marriage and homosexual relationship. The reliability of the scale was .78 (Cronbach's A).

For the eight independent variable items, factor analysis produced three factors with eigenvalues equal to 2.37, 1.14, and 1.05 (Table 1B). These factors accounted for 57.0% of the total item variance. Since there were more than one factor extracted, these factors were rotated in order to facilitate interpretation of data. There are several types of rotation techniques available. For the current study, varimax orthogonal rotation was used. Again, based on the three factors, three scales, Audacity, Daintiness, and Inequality, were constructed:

Audacity = Q5*.121 + Q6*.115 + Q7*.137 + Q8*.07 + Q9*.562 + Q10*.321 + Q11*.727 + Q12*.325

Daintiness = Q5*.414 + Q6*.06 + Q7*.557 + Q8*.508 + Q9*.269 + Q10*.317 + Q11*.347 + Q12*.024

Inequality = Q5*..68 + Q6*.991 + Q7*.139 + Q8*.014 + Q9*.069 + Q10*.049 +

Q11*.035 + Q12*.1

Audacity loaded highly on items such as (Q9) and (Q11) that portrayed men as thick-skinned, aggressive, daring, and not concerned about appearance. Daintiness loaded high on items (Q5), (Q7), and (Q8) that portrayed women as kind-hearted, needing protection, and being emotional. Finally, Inequality loaded very highly on the item that stated that women are just as suitable as men for dangerous occupations such as fire-fighting. Audacity accounted for 13.8% of the item variance, Daintiness 13.0% of the item variance, and Inequality, 12.8% of the item variance. Considered together, the three factors accounted for 39.6% of the total variance with each scale having relatively similar importance in terms of explaining variance in the original set of variables. These three scales are coded in the same direction so that a higher value in each of three scales means greater internalization of gender-stereotypical values.

The reliability for scales Audacity and Daintiness were .58 and .53, respectively (Cronbach's alpha). Only the highest loading factor for each variable was included for the reliability analysis. So, for example, for Audacity items Q9, Q10, Q11 and Q12 were included. In the same manner, for the reliability analysis for Daintiness scale items Q5, Q7, Q8 as well as Q10 were included. Q10 were included within both Audacity and Daintiness due to similar loading values (.321 and .317, respectively). Finally, no analysis for Inequality was performed because the scale had only one highest loading factor (item Q6). Though Cronbach's alpha that are over .60 are generally accepted as the lower threshold (Moss, Prosser, Costello, Simpson, Patel, Rowe, Turner, & Hatton,

1998, p. 178), the results of the reliability analysis for both scales are believed to be adequate for the reliability analysis for original eight items (Q5-Q12) is well over .60.

(d). Path Model

A path model based on hypotheses 1-5 is shown in Figure 3. In this model, demographic variables such as Age and Sex are hypothesized as having direct effects on heterosexism.

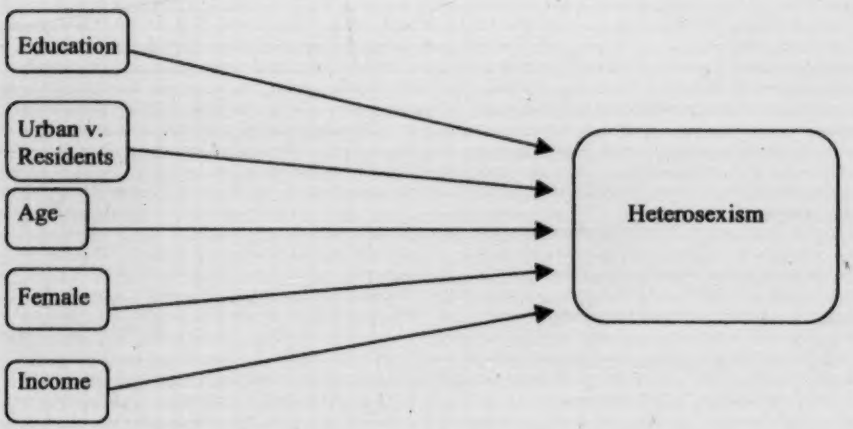

Figure 3. Proposed Path Model: Demographic Variables on Heterosexism

The causal model in figure 4 is based on the intervening model shown in Figure 2., in which demographic variables are predicted as having effects on the scales measuring gender-stereotype internalization, e.g. Audacity, Daintiness, and Inequality. In turn, these scales directly affect heterosexism.

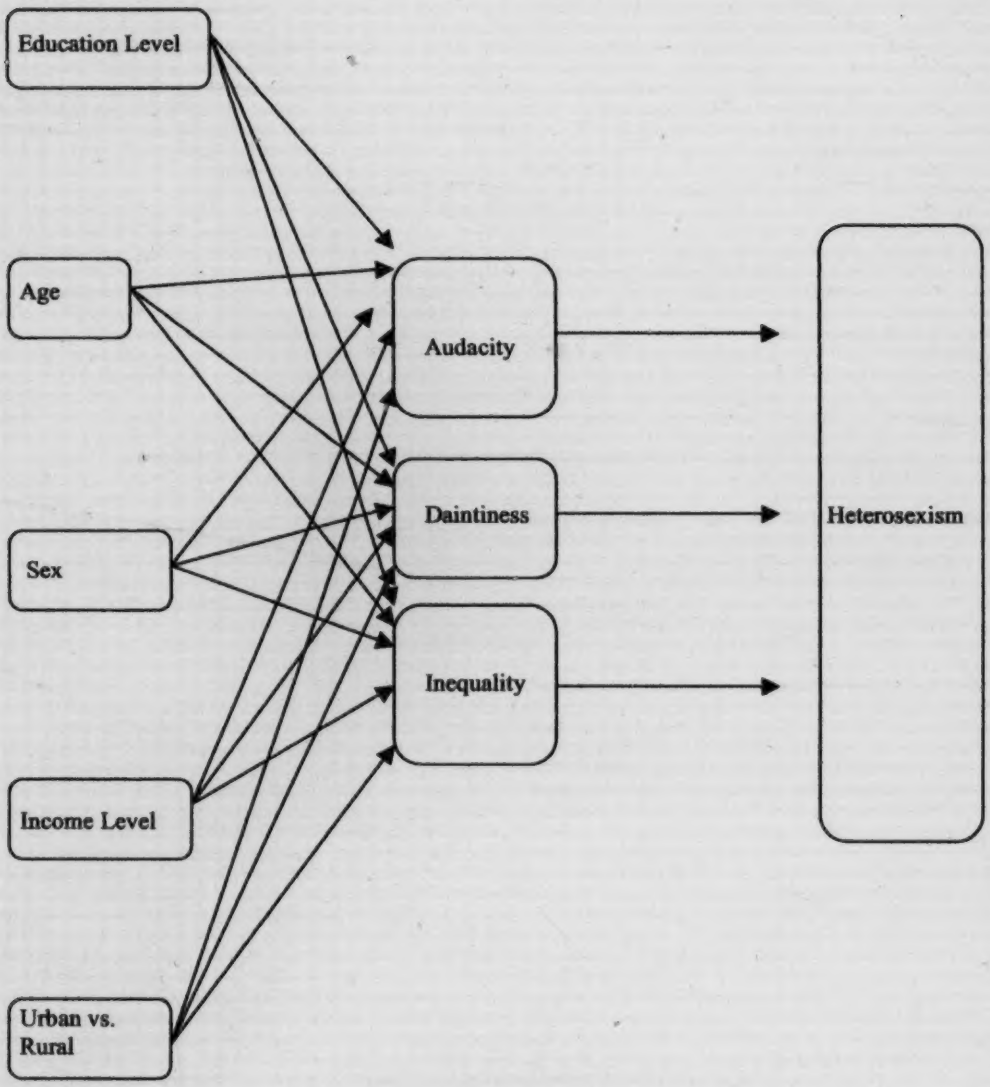

Figure 4. Proposed path model

RESULTS

(a). Descriptive Statistics

Table 2 shows the frequency and percentage distribution of Albertans' attitudes towards same-sex marriage and same-sex relationships in general. Fifty-two percent of Albertans answered either 'Strongly Disagree' or 'Disagree' to the question Q1 – "Gays and lesbians should have the right to get married." Thirty-six percent either strongly agreed or agreed with the question.

However, when respondents were asked the same question in a slightly different wording, "Marriage should be limited to one man and one woman" (Q2), the proportion of Albertans agreeing with this statement[19] went up to sixty-one percent while those disagreeing with the statement[20] decreased to thirty percent.

When Albertans were asked whether or not same-sex couples should be granted civil union only (Q3), fifty-three percent agreed with the statement while thirty-two percent disagreed. Finally, for attitudes towards homosexual relationships—"There is nothing morally wrong with same-sex marriage"—forty-seven percent agreed while thirty-nine percent disagreed with the statement.

Table 3 shows the frequency and percentage distribution of Albertans' attitudes towards same sex marriage/same-sex relationships (Q1), broken down by education level. Seventy-five percent of the respondents with less than high school education disagreed with the statement while high school graduate and respondents with post secondary education disagreed fifty-six percent and forty-seven percent respectively. A Chi-Square

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[19] Those answered either Strongly Agree or Agree. Unless noted, this pattern applies to all of the similar statement for the rest of this thesis.

[20] Those answered either Strongly Disagree or Disagree. Unless noted, this pattern applies to all of the similar statement for the rest of this thesis.

test revealed that the differences between the groups were significant; thus, higher education was associated with less negative attitudes towards same-sex marriage (χ^2 = 52.99, df = 8, p<.001).

A similar trend was seen for Q4. Respondents with less than high school education and high school graduates disagreed with the statement sixty-three percent and forty-one percent, respectively. Thirty-four percent of respondents with post-secondary education disagreed with the. Again, a higher education level was associated with less negative attitudes towards same-sex relationships (χ^2 = 52.36, df = 8, p<.001)

Q2 followed this pattern with greater education less likely to believe that marriage should be limited to one man and one woman. Seventy-three percent, sixty-five percent, and fifty-seven percent of respondents with less than high school education, high school diploma, and post-secondary education, respectively agreed with the statement (χ^2 = 44.52, df = 8, p<.001).

Question 3, however, failed to show a statistically significant association between education and support for civil union only for gays and lesbians.

Table 4 shows the frequency and percentage distribution of Albertans' attitudes towards same sex marriage/same-sex relationships by urban (Calgary + Edmonton) or rural (rest of the Province) residency. For Q1, more than half (60.4%) of the rural residents were against same-sex marriage versus forty-seven percent of the urban residents (χ^2 = 27.08, df = 4, p<.001).

Q2 and Q4 also showed followed significant differences between urbanites' and rural residents' attitudes (χ^2 = 21.40, df = 4, p<.001; χ^2 = 20.12, df = 4, p<.001). The difference for Q3 between urban and rural residents was not significant.

Table 5 shows the frequency and percentage distribution of Albertans' attitudes towards same sex marriage/same-sex relationships broken down by age. For Q1, only thirty-six percent of the youngest age group (18-24) disagreed compared to seventy-two percent of the 65+ years respondents ($\chi^2 = 101.67$, df = 20, $p<.001$). Similar patterns can be seen for Q2 ($\chi^2 = 99.68$, df = 20, $p<.001$), Q3 ($\chi^2 = 59.11$, df = 20, $p<.001$), and Q4 ($\chi^2 = 69.18$, df = 20, $p<.001$). Older Albertans are more likely to have negative attitudes towards same-sex marriage/same-sex relationships in general than are younger respondents.

Table 6 shows the frequency and percentage distribution of Albertans' attitudes towards same sex marriage/same-sex relationships for men and women. For Q1, forty-six percent of females and fifty-seven percent of males disagreed with the statement ($\chi^2 = 17.50$, df = 4, $p<.01$).

For Q2, thirty-four percent of females and twenty-seven percent of males disagreed with the statement; i.e. women were more likely to disagree with preserving the traditional definition of marriage ($\chi^2 = 16.88$, df = 4, $p<.01$).

Q3 failed to yield a statistically significant attitudinal difference between the sexes. For Q4, thirty-three percent of females and forty-four percent of males disagreed that there is nothing wrong about homosexual relationships between adults. The difference between the groups was significant ($\chi^2 = 24.87$, df = 4, $p<.001$).

Table 7 shows the frequency and percentage distribution of Albertans' attitudes towards same sex marriage/same-sex relationships by income group. Chi-Square tests performed on all variables Q1 through Q4 revealed no significant differences between the income groups.

(b). Correlations

The correlations between education, urban vs. rural, age, sex, income level and either support for same-sex marriage or attitudes towards homosexual relationship are presented in Table 8.

Education level was significantly associated with the three variables Q1, Q2, and Q4[21]. Thus, higher education was associated with greater acceptance of both same-sex marriage and homosexual relationships, supporting hypothesis 1.

Being a rural resident was negatively associated with Q1, Q2, and Q4. Rural residency was associated with negative attitudes towards both same-sex marriage and homosexual relationships in general, supporting hypothesis 2.

Age was the only variable that was significantly associated with all of the four measures of attitudes towards same-sex marriage and homosexual relationships in general. This supports hypothesis 3 that younger people are more likely to show support for both same-sex marriage and homosexual relationships.

Being male was significantly associated with Q1, Q2, and Q4. Men tended to have less favourable attitudes towards both same-sex marriage and homosexual relationships, supporting hypothesis 4. However, sex of the respondent was not significantly associated with Q3.

Finally, there was a weak yet significant association between the income level and the two variables measuring attitudes both towards same-sex marriage and homosexual relationships. The correlation between income level and Q3 was -.07*[22] and .01** for

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[21] Q1. Gays and lesbians should have the right to get married; Q2. Marriage should be limited to one man and one woman; Q4. There is nothing wrong about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex.

[22] *p= ≤.05

income and Q4, respectively, with respondents with higher income tending to have more positive attitudes towards same-sex marriage and homosexual relationships. These results supported hypothesis 5.

(c). Multiple Regression

The results of the initial multiple regression with demographic variables and gender stereotype scales are presented in Table 9A. Age was the strongest predictor of Heterosexism, controlling for all other variables, with a standardized coefficient of .21. It was also significant at the .001 level. This result confirmed hypothesis 3 that older people tend to hold heterosexist views more so than younger respondents.

Education was the second strongest predictor with a beta of -.19 ($p \leq .001$). This supports hypothesis 1 that the higher the education, the less an individual espouses heterosexist views.

Being a resident of rural area significantly predicted heterosexism (Beta = .08, $p \leq .01$), confirming hypothesis 2 that rural residents will hold more heterosexist views than urban residents.

Being male was also a significant predictor of heterosexism with beta of .07 ($p \leq .05$). This confirms hypothesis 4 that men are more likely to hold heterosexist views than women.

Income level did not significantly predict heterosexism, rejecting hypothesis 5 that higher income is associated with less heterosexist views.

One of the gender stereotype scales, Audacity, did not significantly predict heterosexism. The remaining two scales, Daintiness and Inequality had significant

effects with betas of .19 and .18, respectively ($p \leq .001$).

Next, a second multiple regression analysis was performed, retaining only variables with significant effects in the initial analysis, i.e. excluding Audacity and Income. This step was taken in order to trim the model. The results of the second multiple regression analysis is presented in Table 9B.

In order to test whether or not gender stereotype scales mediate between demographic variables and heterosexism, different sets of regression analyses were performed. The results are presented in Table 10A through 10C.

For Audacity, being male was the strongest predictor with a beta of .24 ($p \leq .001$), followed by education (Beta = -.18, $p \leq .001$). Other variables were not significant predictors of Audacity.

For Daintiness, education was the strongest predictor with a beta of -.20 ($p \leq .001$), followed by being male (Beta = .09, $p \leq .01$). Other variable were not significant predictors.

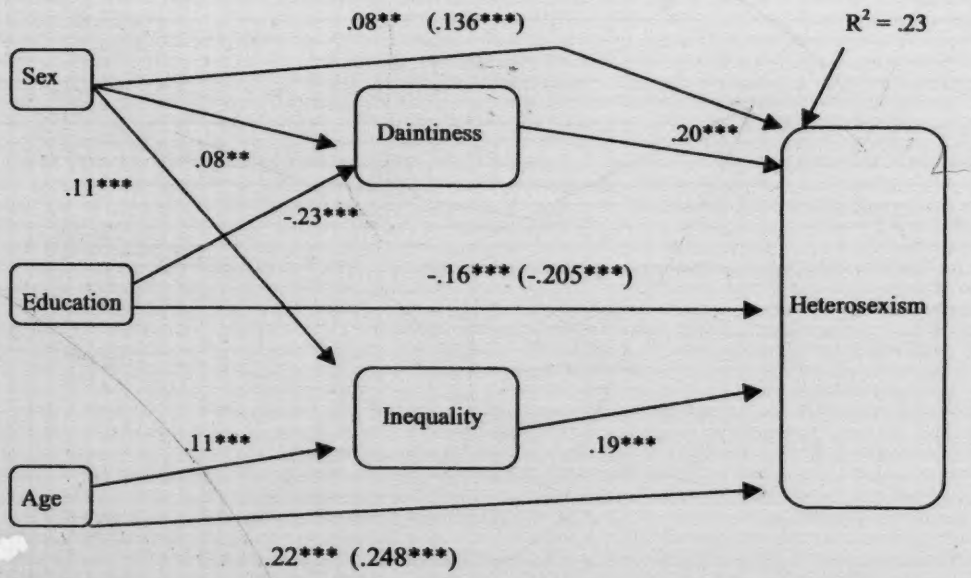
For Inquality, being male was the strongest predictor with a beta of .12 ($p \leq .001$), followed by age (Beta = .10, $p \leq .01$). Other variables were not significant predictors of Inequality.

The results of the second sets of multiple regression analysis for each gender stereotype scales retaining only those variables with significant effect in the intial analyses are presented in Tables 11A through 11C.

Additionally, regression analyses with demographic variables only on heterosexism were performed to compare the effects of demographic variables on heterosexism with and without controlling for gender stereotype scales.

Rural residency was a significant direct predictor of heterosexism with a beta of .08 ($p \leq .05$), as well as Education (Beta = -.24, $p \leq .001$), Age (Beta = .23, $p \leq .001$)., and being male (Beta = .13, $p \leq .001$). Income was not a significant direct predictor of Heterosexism. These and the results of another analysis excluding income variable are presented in Tables 12A and 12B.

Finally, to illustrate the results of regression analysis, the below is a path analysis of the determinants of heterosexism with beta values:



(Beta) = effects on Heterosexism without controlling for Gender Stereotype Sccales.
**P ≤ .01
***P ≤ .001

Figure 5. Trimmed path model

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The current study has tested the hypotheses individuals who accept gender stereotypical beliefs are more negative about same-sex marriage. Several studies had already confirmed that there is indeed a close relationship between internalized gender stereotypes and negative attitudes towards gays and lesbians (e.g. Black, Oles, & Moore, 1998; Kurdek, 1988; Whitley & AEgisdottir, 2000). Moreover, public opinion polls conducted on the Canadian population by several market research companies had shown that certain demographic characteristics such as age significantly affect one's attitudes towards same-sex marriage (e.g. NFO CF Group, 2003). Based on these findings, it was proposed that extent of a person's belief in gender stereotypes would determine his/her attitudes towards same-sex marriage; at the same time, the relationship between demographic characteristics and the strength of support for same-sex marriage would be mediated by variances in accepting gender stereotypes.

The results of regression analyses supported the studies reviewed in the earlier section (e.g. Whitley, 2001) that showed positive relationships between high level of gender stereotype endorsement and negative attitudes towards gays and lesbians. They also support the majority of NFO CF Group findings namely, higher educational attainment, being a woman, living in urban areas, and being younger are positively associated with positive attitudes towards same-sex marriage. Gender stereotype endorsement was both a mediating factor between some demographic variables, education, sex, and age, and heteosexism as well as an independent predictor of heterosexism.

As predicted, gender stereotype internalization mediated several demographic characteristics, Sex, Age and Education level. Being male was a significant predictor of Daintiness and Inequality. At the same time, Sex was also a significant direct predictor of Heterosexism. Hence, being male was both a predictor of Heterosexism directly and indirectly.

Education level was a significant predictor on Daintiness as well as a significant direct predictor of Heterosexism. Education level was thus both a predictor of Heterosexism directly and indirectly.

Age was a significant predictor of Inequality as well as a significant direct predictor of Heterosexism. Again, it was a direct and indirect predictor of Heterosexism.

(a). Potential Limitations

As with any research, the current one faced potential limitations. Earlier, a concern was raised in regards to lesbians and gays who oppose same-sex marriage based on the liberationist ideology that insists that assimilation of lesbians and gays into the mainstream society via state regulated marriage reinforces heterosexual privilege. Such an opposition is qualitatively different from other, more mainstream anti same-sex parties e.g. some religious organizations, and could distort the result of current study had its number been greater. Specifically, the current study did not test the relationship between the liberationist ideology and attitudes towards same-sex marriage nor individuals' sexual orientation and attitudes towards same-sex marriage. Had these relationships tested and controlled for, the association between gender stereotype internalization and attitudes towards same-sex marriage could have been stronger or, conversely, weaker. However,

based on the fact that the demand for equal marriage was first raised by some lesbians and gay activists in this country more than thirty years ago (Warner, 2002, p. 69), and by looking at the lesbians and gay interest groups of the early 21st century whose mood was nothing short of celebratory when the Bill C-38 finally passed the senate (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2005, http://www.cbc.ca/canada/british-columbia/story /2005/06/29/bc_same-sex20050629.html) it seems reasonable to assume that the majority of lesbians and gays in this country, including those from Alberta, are indeed supporters of same-sex marriage legalization. Therefore, the numbers of lesbians and gays opposing same-sex marriage would have been small enough that they should not distort the results of the current study.

A second and more general concern is with the instrument used to gather data for the current study—telephone survey—which is prone to certain undesirable influences. There are two types of biases that are of particular interest; social desirability bias and nonresponse error. Social desirability bias is the predispostion to present oneself in a socially desirable manner (Crowne & Marlowe, Edwards, Meehl & Hathaway, as cited in Thornton & Gupta, 2004, p. 214). Each question asked under the same-sex marriage section of the survey was carefully loaded with distinctively opposing attitudes to minimize the sense of judgment in order to elicit more honest responses e.g. "Gays and lesbians should have the right to get married" vs. "Marriage should be limited to one man and one woman". It was hoped, by presenting such oppositional views, the respondents were able to express their genuine feelings without making them feel as deviant or inferior (Fowler, 2002, p. 99: Sheatsley, 1983, p. 215). However, it was still possible for

some respondents to report their support for same-sex marriage when in fact they opposed it; for they might have thought that it was a more socially accepted choice.

Social desirability bias is a pervasive influence many self-report based researches are prone to (Fisher &Katz, as cited in Thronton & Gupta, 2004, p. 214). For the current study, an effort was taken to minimize such a risk. Beyond such an effort specifically a more in-depth examination of this particular problem is well beyond the scope of the current study.

Nonresponse error is caused by respondents selected (sample) refusing to participate in a study which, in turn, may distort the result of the given study. The differences between survey participants and non-participants, if great enough, would give a researcher inaccurate picture of the population that s/he wishes to study (Link & Mokdad, 2005, p. 239). The level of response rate has been on decline steadily over the years (PRL, 2005, p. 8; Tucket & O'Neill, 2002, p. 26). For the current study response rate was 26.3%, which is on the lower side (Baruch, 1999, p. 429). Again, nonresponse error is a topic on its own and no further discussion will be made. It is, however, important to recognize potentially significant effects of such a bias. Perhaps, replicating the current study on a similar population in the near future will strengthen the results of the current study.

(b). Directions for Future Work

The current study is the first to look at the relationship between gender-stereotype internalization and attitudes towards same-sex marriage among Albertans. The data the study used was collected approximately a year before the Canada-wide legalization of

same-sex marriage; same-sex marriage was one of the most talked-about topics on the media at that time.

It is probably reasonable to assume that as people get used to the idea of same-sex marriage the opposition will decrease overtime. It will be interesting to see how the attitudes towards same-sex marriage, as well as the relationship between gender-stereotype internalization and attitudes towards same-sex marriage, will change over the next decade and beyond. For example, the opposition to same-sex marriage could decrease over time over the next five years or so as the population at large grow comfortable with the notion of same-sex marriage; thereafter, a change in people's attitudes could come at much slower rate. It will also be interesting to see whether or not the relationship between gender stereotype internalization remain significant as the opponents of same-sex marriage decrease. Moreover, the current study was conducted on Albertans; would the findings be much different if the study were conducted on national sample? These are questions that could and should be addressed in the future study.

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Table 1A

Factor Loadings for the Dependent Variables

Items included in analysis	Factor
	Heterosexism
Q1. Gays and lesbians should have the right to get married.	-.941
Q2. Marriage should be limited to one man and one woman.	.930
Q3. Same-sex couples should be granted an alternative arrangement, not marriage.	.426
Q4. There is nothing wrong about sexual relations between two adults of the same-sex.	-.775

Note. Since only one factor was extracted, no rotation technique was applied for this particular set.

Table 1B
Factor Loadings for The Independent Variables

Items included in analysis	Factors		
	Audacity	Daintiness	Inequality
Q5. Women are more kind-hearted than men.	.121	.414	-.068
Q6. Women are just as suitable as men for dangerous occupations such as fire-fighting.	-.115	-.060	-.991
Q7. Most women want to be protected by men.	.137	.557	.139
Q8. Men are less likely to let emotions cloud their thinking than women.	.070	.508	.014
Q9. Parents should emphasize appearance more for their daughters than for their sons.	.562	.269	-.069
Q10. Boys are naturally more aggressive than girls.	.321	.317	.049
Q11. Boys should be encouraged to be daring more than girls.	.727	.347	.035
Q12. Boys should be encouraged to be sensitive just as much as girls.	-.325	.024	-.100

Note. Factors were rotated using Varimax method.

Table 2

Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Albertans' Attitudes Towards Same-sex Marriage and Attitudes Towards Same-sex Relationships

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
	Frequency			
Strongly Disagree	518	279	280	351
Disagree	91	80	91	95
Neutral	144	98	175	163
Agree	116	80	191	170
Strongly Agree	305	644	428	380
	Percentage			
Strongly Disagree	44.2	23.6	24.0	30.3
Disagree	7.7	6.8	7.8	8.2
Neutral	12.3	8.3	15.0	14.0
Agree	9.9	6.8	16.4	14.6
Strongly Agree	26.0	54.5	36.8	32.8

Note. Q1. Gays and lesbians should have the right to get married.
Q2. Marriage should be limited to one man and one woman.
Q3. Same-sex couples should be granted an alternative arrangement, not marriage.
Q4. There is nothing wrong about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex.
All numbers based on valid response excluding NR and DK.
Source: The 2005 All-Alberta Survey

Table 3

Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Albertans' Attitudes Towards Same-sex Marriage: Education Level

	Q1			Q2			Q3			Q4		
	Less	HS	PS	Less	HS	PS	Less	HS	PS	Less	HS	PS
						Frequency						
Strongly Disagree	87	117	311	13	52	214	24	58	197	70	77	204
Disagree	10	9	72	1	11	68	14	15	61	11	17	68
Neutral	13	23	108	8	19	71	21	39	115	16	37	109
Agree	6	27	82	8	14	58	23	43	125	9	34	126
Strongly Agree	14	51	239	103	138	400	48	73	307	23	64	292
	Less	HS	PS	Less	HS	PS	Less	HS	PS	Less	HS	PS
						Percentage (within Education Level)						
Strongly Disagree	66.9	51.5	38.3	9.8	22.2	26.4	18.5	25.4	24.5	54.3	33.6	25.5
Disagree	7.7	4.0	8.9	.8	4.7	8.4	10.8	6.6	7.6	8.5	7.4	8.5
Neutral	10.0	10.1	13.3	6.0	8.1	8.8	16.2	17.1	14.3	12.4	16.2	13.6
Agree	4.6	11.9	10.1	6.0	6.0	7.2	17.7	18.9	15.5	7.0	14.8	15.8
Strongly Agree	10.8	22.5	29.4	77.4	59.0	49.3	36.9	32.0	38.1	17.8	27.9	36.5

Note. Q1. Gays and lesbians should have the right to get married.
Q2. Marriage should be limited to one man and one woman.
Q3. Same-sex couples should be granted an alternative arrangement, not marriage.
Q4. There is nothing wrong about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex.
Less. Less than high school
HS. High school complete
PS. Post secondary complete
Pearson Chi-Square value for Q1, Q2, Q3, Q4 (x^2=52.99***, x^2=44.52***, x^2=8.11, x^2=52.36***)
***df = 8, P ≤ .001
All numbers based on Valid Percent excluding NR and DK.
Source: The 2005 All-Alberta Survey

Table 4

Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Albertans' Attitudes Towards Same-sex Marriage: Urban (Calgary+ Edmonton) vs. Rural (rest of the province) Area

	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
			Frequency					
Strongly Disagree	297	221	201	78	188	92	199	153
Disagree	62	29	60	20	61	30	61	34
Neutral	95	49	62	36	110	66	101	61
Agree	76	39	60	20	123	68	113	56
Strongly Agree	228	76	384	260	275	154	274	106
			Percentage (within Urban v. Rural)					
Strongly Disagree	39.2	53.4	26.2	18.8	24.8	22.4	26.6	37.3
Disagree	8.2	7.0	7.8	4.8	8.1	7.3	8.2	8.3
Neutral	12.5	11.8	8.1	8.7	14.5	16.1	13.5	14.9
Agree	10.0	9.4	7.8	4.8	16.2	16.6	15.1	13.7
Strongly Agree	30.1	18.4	50.1	62.8	36.3	37.6	36.6	25.9

Note. Q1. Gays and lesbians should have the right to get married.
Q2. Marriage should be limited to one man and one woman.
Q3. Same-sex couples should be granted an alternative arrangement, not marriage.
Q4. There is nothing wrong about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex.
Pearson Chi-Square value for Q1, Q2, Q3, Q4 (x^2=27.08***, x^2=21.40***, x^2=1.39, x^2=20.12***)
***df = 4, P ≤ .001
All numbers based on Valid Percent excluding NR and DK.
Source: The 2005 All-Alberta Survey

Table 5

Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Albertans' Attitudes Towards Same-sex Marriage: Age

Q1. Gays and lesbians should have the right to get married.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree	36 (26.1%)	64 (30.2%)	98 (39.0%)	109 (44.7%)	100 (62.5%)	100 (65.4%)
Disagree	13 (9.4%)	16 (7.5%)	22 (8.8%)	18 (7.4%)	11 (6.9%)	10 (6.5%)
Neutral	21 (15.2%)	31 (14.6%)	30 (12.0%)	32 (13.1%)	12 (7.5%)	18 (11.8%)
Agree	21 (15.2%)	32 (15.1%)	31 (12.4%)	16 (6.6%)	12 (7.5%)	4 (2.6%)
Strongly Agree	47 (34.1%)	69 (32.5%)	70 (27.9%)	69 (28.3%)	25 (15.6%)	21 (13.7%)
Total	138 (100.0%)	212 (100.0%)	251 (100.0%)	244 (100.0%)	160 (100.0%)	153 (100.0%)

Q2. Marriage should be limited to one man and one woman.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree	44 (31.2%)	67 (31.9%)	64 (25.3%)	59 (23.9%)	26 (16.3%)	18 (11.6%)
Disagree	12 (8.5%)	23 (11.0%)	22 (8.7%)	17 (6.9%)	5 (3.1%)	2 (1.3%)
Neutral	17 (12.1%)	20 (9.5%)	25 (9.9%)	21 (8.5%)	7 (4.4%)	7 (4.5%)
Agree	16 (11.3%)	15 (7.1%)	21 (8.3%)	14 (5.7%)	7 (4.4%)	7 (4.5%)
Strongly Agree	52 (36.9%)	85 (40.5%)	121 (47.8%)	136 (55.1%)	115 (71.9%)	121 (78.1%)
Total	141 (100.0%)	210 (100.0%)	253 (100.0%)	247 (100.0%)	160 (100.0%)	155 (100.0%)

Table 5 continued

Q3. Same-sex couples should be granted an alternative arrangement, not marriage.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree	43 (30.7%)	55 (26.4%)	65 (26.1%)	61 (24.7%)	32 (20.6%)	20 (13.3%)
Disagree	10 (7.1%)	24 (11.5%)	17 (6.8%)	16 (6.5%)	11 (7.1%)	13 (8.7%)
Neutral	24 (17.1%)	40 (19.2%)	39 (15.7%)	40 (16.2%)	13 (8.4%)	17 (11.3%)
Agree	30 (21.4%)	37 (17.8%)	40 (16.1%)	37 (15.0%)	22 (14.2%)	23 (15.3%)
Strongly Agree	33 (23.6%)	52 (25.0%)	88 (35.3%)	93 (37.7%)	77 (49.7%)	77 (51.3%)
Total	140 (100.0%)	208 (100.0%)	249 (100.0%)	247 (100.0%)	155 (100.0%)	150 (100.0%)

Q4. There is nothing wrong about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree	27 (19.6%)	43 (20.4%)	75 (30.0%)	74 (30.1%)	55 (36.2%)	70 (49.0%)
Disagree	9 (6.5%)	13 (6.2%)	19 (7.6%)	19 (7.7%)	19 (12.5%)	14 (9.8%)
Neutral	25 (18.1%)	30 (14.2%)	31 (12.4%)	33 (13.4%)	26 (17.1%)	13 (9.1%)
Agree	28 (20.3%)	35 (16.6%)	46 (18.4%)	30 (12.2%)	14 (9.2%)	15 (10.5%)
Strongly Agree	49 (35.5%)	90 (42.7%)	79 (31.6%)	90 (36.6%)	38 (25.0%)	31 (21.7%)
Total	138 (100.0%)	211 (100.0%)	250 (100.0%)	246 (100.0%)	152 (100.0%)	143 (100.0%)

Note. 1. 18-24 years old, 2. 25-34 years old, 3. 35-44 years old, 4. 45-54 years old, 5. 55-64 years old, 6. 65+

Percentage within Age

Pearson Chi-Square value for Q1, Q2, Q3, Q4 (x^2=101.67***, x^2=99.68***, x^2=59.11***, x^2=69.18***)

***df = 20, P ≤ .001

All numbers based on Valid Percent excluding NR and DK.

Source: The 2005 All-Alberta Survey

Table 6

Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Albertans' Attitudes Towards Same-sex Marriage and Attitudes Towards Same-sex Relationships: Female vs. Male

	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4	
	Frequency							
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Strongly Disagree	229	289	164	115	141	139	148	203
Disagree	42	49	37	44	48	43	42	53
Neutral	76	68	49	49	89	87	85	77
Agree	58	58	47	33	96	95	75	94
Strongly Agree	179	125	293	351	206	222	225	156
	Percentage (within Female v. Male)							
Strongly Disagree	39.2	49.1	27.8	19.4	24.3	23.7	25.7	34.8
Disagree	7.2	8.3	6.3	7.4	8.3	7.3	7.3	9.1
Neutral	13.0	11.5	8.3	8.3	15.3	14.8	14.8	13.2
Agree	9.9	9.8	8.0	5.6	16.6	16.2	13.0	16.1
Strongly Agree	30.7	21.2	49.7	59.3	35.5	37.9	39.1	26.8

Note. Q1. Gays and lesbians should have the right to get married.
Q2. Marriage should be limited to one man and one woman.
Q3. Same-sex couples should be granted an alternative arrangement, not marriage.
Q4. There is nothing wrong about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex.
Pearson Chi-Square value for Q1, Q2, Q3, Q4 (x^2=17.50**, x^2=16.88**, x^2=.88, x^2=24.87***)
**P ≤ .01, ***P ≤ .001, df = 4
All numbers based on Valid Percent excluding NR and DK.
Source: The 2005 All-Alberta Survey

Table 7

Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Albertans' Attitudes Towards Same-sex Marriage: Annual Income

Q1. Gays and lesbians should have the right to get married.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree	130 (46.6%)	34 (53.1%)	29 (38.2%)	37 (43.5%)	113 (48.3%)	175 (40.1%)
Disagree	16 (5.7%)	4 (6.3%)	8 (10.5%)	7 (8.2%)	22 (9.4%)	34 (7.8%)
Neutral	32 (11.5%)	7 (10.9%)	8 (10.5%)	10 (11.8%)	33 (14.1%)	54 (12.4%)
Agree	34 (12.2%)	4 (6.3%)	8 (10.5%)	6 (7.1%)	14 (6.0%)	50 (11.5%)
Strongly Agree	67 (24.0%)	15 (23.4%)	23 (30.3%)	25 (29.4%)	52 (22.2%)	123 (28.2%)
Total	279 (100.0%)	64 (100.0%)	76 (100.0%)	85 (100.0%)	234 (100.0%)	436 (100.0%)

Q2. Marriage should be limited to one man and one woman.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree	61 (21.5%)	15 (23.1%)	18 (23.4%)	24 (27.3%)	47 (20.0%)	115 (26.4%)
Disagree	18 (6.3%)	3 (4.6%)	3 (3.9%)	6 (6.8%)	13 (5.5%)	38 (8.7%)
Neutral	24 (8.5%)	2 (3.1%)	6 (7.8%)	8 (9.1%)	21 (8.9%)	37 (8.5%)
Agree	20 (7.0%)	3 (4.6%)	10 (13.0%)	2 (2.3%)	16 (6.8%)	30 (6.9%)
Strongly Agree	161 (56.7%)	42 (64.6%)	40 (51.9%)	48 (54.5%)	138 (58.7%)	215 (49.4%)
Total	284 (100.0%)	65 (100.0%)	77 (100.0%)	88 (100.0%)	235 (100.0%)	435 (100.0%)

Table 7 continued

Q3. Same-sex couples should be granted an alternative arrangement, not marriage.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree	75	15	17	22	44	108
	(27.3%)	(24.2%)	(22.7%)	(25.6%)	(18.8%)	(24.8%)
Disagree	20	8	7	6	14	36
	(7.3%)	(12.9%)	(9.3%)	(7.0%)	(6.0%)	(8.3%)
Neutral	33	6	16	16	38	66
	(12.0%)	(9.7%)	(21.3%)	(18.6%)	(16.2%)	(15.2%)
Agree	55	8	11	12	33	72
	(20.0%)	(12.9%)	(14.7%)	(14.0%)	(14.1%)	(16.6%)
Strongly Agree	92	25	24	30	105	153
	(33.5%)	(40.3%)	(32.0%)	(34.9%)	(44.9%)	(35.2%)
Total	275	62	75	86	234	435
	(100.0%)	(100.0%)	(100.0%)	(100.0%)	(100.0%)	(100.0%)

Q4. There is nothing wrong about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree	93	26	25	27	69	110
	(33.8%)	(41.3%)	(35.7%)	(31.4%)	(30.4%)	(25.2%)
Disagree	26	8	2	7	18	34
	(9.5%)	(12.7%)	(2.9%)	(8.1%)	(7.9%)	(7.8%)
Neutral	39	8	10	12	33	60
	(14.2%)	(12.7%)	(14.3%)	(14.0%)	(14.5%)	(13.7%)
Agree	35	5	9	11	37	73
	(12.7%)	(7.9%)	(12.9%)	(12.8%)	(16.3%)	(16.7%)
Strongly Agree	82	16	24	29	70	160
	(29.8%)	(25.4%)	(34.3%)	(33.7%)	(30.8%)	(36.6%)
Total	275	63	70	86	227	437
	(100.0%)	(100.0%)	(100.0%)	(100.0%)	(100.0%)	(100.0%)

Note. 1. Under 16,000 2. 16,000-25,999 3. 26,000-35,999 4. 36,000-49,999 5. 50,000-74,999 6. 75,000+

Percentage within Income

Pearson Chi-Square value for Q1, Q2, Q3, Q4 (x^2=20.40, x^2=22.44, x^2=.23.44, x^2=21.65) were all non significant. df = 20

All numbers based on Valid Percent excluding NR and DK.

Source: The 2005 All-Alberta Survey

Table 8

Support for Same-sex Marriage and Homosexual Relationships: Intercorrelation Matrix

	X1	X2	X3	X4	X5	X6	X7	X8	X9
X1	1.00	-.86**	-.31**	.66**	-.12**	-.27**	.23**	.05	-.14**
X2		1.00	.36**	-.595**	.10**	.25**	-.23**	-.07*	.11**
X3			1.00	-.04	.02	.17**	-.05	.01	.02
X4				1.00	-.13**	-.20**	.23**	.10**	-.13**
X5					1.00	-.03	.06*	.13**	.00
X6						1.00	-.14**	-.17**	.06*
X7							1.00	.29**	-.20**
X8								1.00	-.06
X9									1.00

Note. X_1 = Gays and lesbians should have the right to get married.
X_2 = Marriage should be limited to one man and one woman.
X_3 = Same-sex couples should be granted an alternative arrangement, not marriage.
X_4 = There is nothing wrong about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex.
X_5 = Sex (male)
X_6 = Age
X_7 = Education
X_8 = income
X_9 = Rural Residents
*p= ≤.05
**p= ≤.01

Table 9A

Multiple Regression on Heterosexism: The first model

Independent Variables	b	SE	Beta	t	Sig of t
Audacity	.083	.140	.031	.588	.557
Daintiness	.460	.125	.188	3.675	.000***
Inequality	.583	.100	.184	5.855	.000***
Rural	.740	.274	.082	2.701	.007**
Sex (male)	.621	.272	.072	2.285	.023*
Income	.023	.017	.044	1.398	.162
Education	-.265	.045	-.191	-5.905	.000***
Age	.059	.009	.207	6.792	.000***
Constant	4.918	1.056		4.656	.000***

Note.

R	.498
R^2	.248
Adjusted R^2	.241
Std Error of Regression	3.7566

*P ≤ .05
**P ≤ .01
***P ≤ .001

Table 9B

Multiple Regression on Heterosexism: The second model

Independent Variables	b	SE	Beta	t	Sig of t
Daintiness	.485	.068	.203	7.099	.000***
Inequality	.583	.088	.186	6.600	.000***
Rural	.806	.246	.091	3.280	.001**
Sex (male)	.706	.232	.083	3.040	.002**
Education	-.213	.039	-.155	-5.498	.000***
Age	.059	.007	.220	8.048	.000***
Constant	4.941	.890		5.550	.000***

Note.

R	.487
R^2	.237
Adjusted R^2	.233
Std Error of Regression	3.7313

**P ≤ .01

***P ≤ .001

Table 10A

Multiple Regression on Audacity: The first model

Independent Variables	b	SE	Beta	t	Sig of t
Sex (male)	.792	.104	.244	7.604	.000***
Income	-.011	.007	-.058	-1.714	.087
Education	-.091	.018	-.175	-5.165	.000***
Age	-.002	.003	-.020	-.630	.529
Rural	-.032	.110	-.009	-.291	.771
Constant	6.659	.342		19.467	.000***

Note.

R	.301
R^2	.091
Adjusted R^2	.086
Std Error of Regression	1.5535

***P ≤ .001

Table 10B

Multiple Regression on Daintiness: The first model

Independent Variables	b	SE	Beta	t	Sig of t
Sex (male)	.307	.115	.087	2.660	.008**
Income	-.009	.007	-.040	-1.180	.238
Education	-.115	.020	-.204	-5.907	.000***
Age	.006	.004	-.047	1.441	.150
Rural	.094	.122	.025	.769	.442
Constant	8.301	.379		21.900	.000***

Note.

R	.248
R^2	.062
Adjusted R^2	.057
Std Error of Regression	1.7214

**P ≤ .01

***P ≤ .001

Table 10C

Multiple Regression on Inequality: The first model

Independent Variables	b	SE	Beta	t	Sig of t
Sex (male)	.334	.090	.123	3.711	.000***
Income	-.001	.006	-.006	-.173	.863
Education	-.021	.015	-.049	-1.396	.163
Age	.009	.003	.098	2.925	.004**
Rural	-.144	.095	-.051	-1.505	.133
Constant	2.792	.296		9.431	.000***

Note.

R	.173
R^2	.030
Adjusted R^2	.024
Std Error of Regression	1.3446

**P ≤ .01

***P ≤ .001

Table 11A

Multiple Regression on Audacity: Trimmed model

Independent Variables	b	SE	Beta	t	Sig of t
Sex (male)	.792	.104	.233	7.604	.000***
Education	-.091	.018	-.181	-5.165	.000***
Constant	6.659	.342		19.467	.000***

Note.

R	.301
R^2	.091
Adjusted R^2	.086
Std Error of Regression	1.5535

***P ≤ .001

Table 11B

Multiple Regression on Daintiness: Trimmed model

Independent Variables	b	SE	Beta	t	Sig of t
Sex (male)	.307	.115	.078	2.660	.008**
Education	-.115	.020	-.234	-5.907	.000***
Constant	8.301	.379		21.900	.000***

Note.

R	.248
R^2	.062
Adjusted R^2	.057
Std Error of Regression	1.7214

**P ≤ .01

***P ≤ .001

Table 11C

Multiple Regression on Inequality: Trimmed model

Independent Variables	b	SE	Beta	t	Sig of t
Sex (male)	.334	.090	.109	3.711	.000***
Age	.009	.003	.107	2.925	.004**
Constant	2.792	.296		9.431	.000***

Note.

R	.173
R^2	.030
Adjusted R^2	.024
Std Error of Regression	1.3446

**P ≤ .01

***P ≤ .001

Table 12A

Multiple Regression on Heterosexism: Demographic variables

Independent Variables	b	SE	Beta	t	Sig of t
Sex (male)	1.136	.269	.132	4.228	.000***
Income	.016	.017	.031	.931	.352
Education	-.326	.046	-.236	-7.092	.000***
Age	.065	.009	.231	7.335	.000***
Rural	.678	.284	.075	2.387	.017**
Constant	10.782	.884		12.192	.000***

Note.

R	.391
R^2	.153
Adjusted R^2	.148
Std Error of Regression	3.97700

**P ≤ .05

***P ≤ .001

Table 12B

Multiple Regression on Heterosexism: Demographic variables II

Independent Variables	b	SE	Beta	t	Sig of t
Sex (male)	1.154	.238	.136	4.858	.000***
Education	-.279	.039	-.205	-7.123	.000***
Age	.065	.007	.248	8.779	.000***
Rural	.788	.252	.089	3.122	.002**
Constant	10.473	.731		14.336	.000***

Note.

R	.388
R^2	.151
Adjusted R^2	.148
Std Error of Regression	3.92607

**P ≤ .01
***P ≤ .001